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COSMOS

AND

COMMONWEALTH

BY

DOMINIC HEALY,

MARYBOROUGH, QUEENSLAND.

A DISCUSSION OF AUSTRALIAN AND
INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS.



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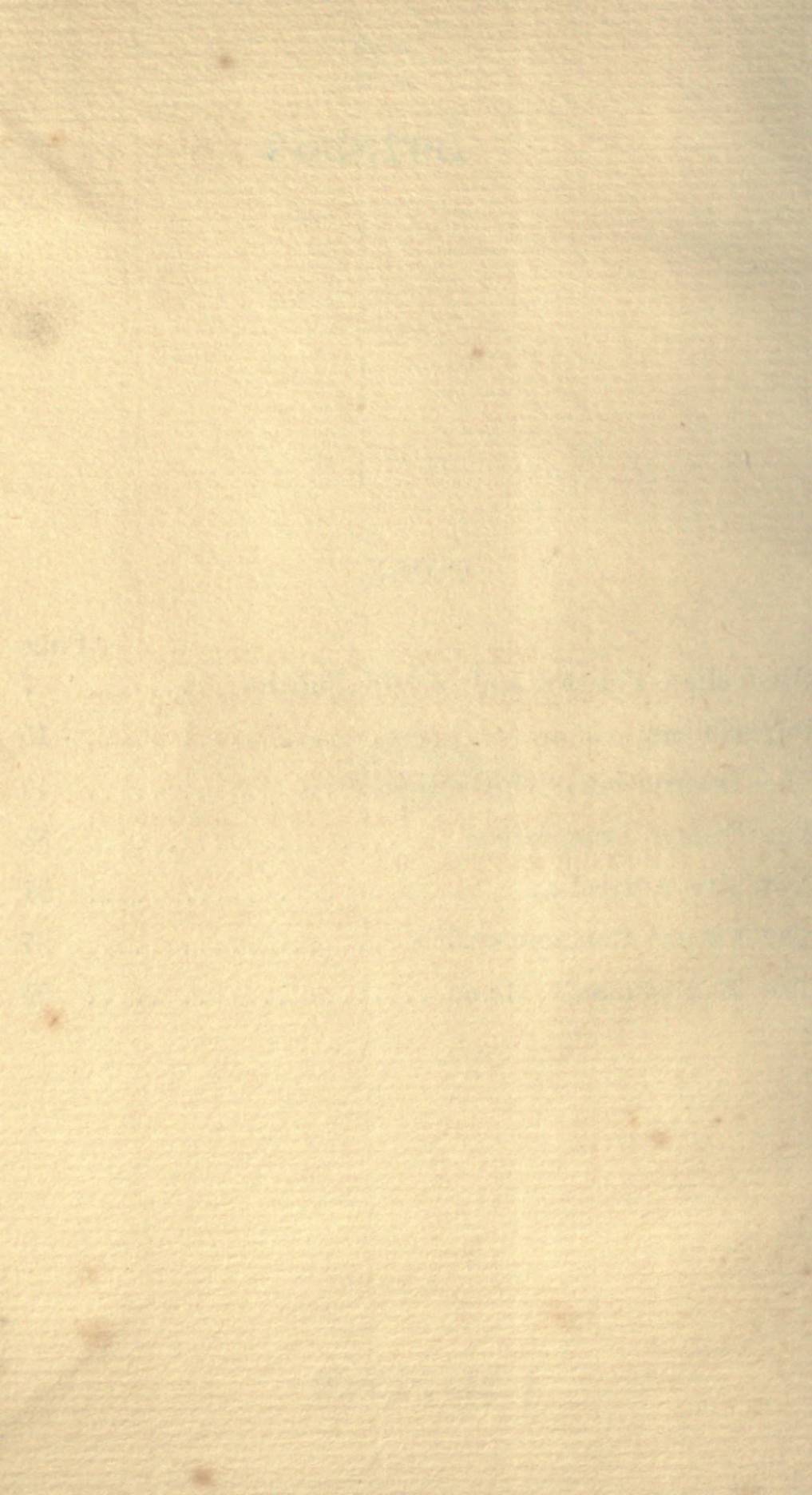


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“ Even a whole society, a nation, nay, all contemporaneous societies taken together, are not proprietors of the earth. They are only its tenants, its usufructuaries, and have to leave it improved as *boni patres familias* to the following generation.”

—Marx on Capital.

COSMOS AND COMMONWEALTH

AUSTRALIAN POLITICS AND WORLD POLITICS.

To THOSE Australians whose thoughts are not wholly occupied by such sporting matters as usually form the chief topic of discussion in most places where Australians foregather, it is clear that the Commonwealth has reached a crisis in its national history which must command serious attention. Hitherto we have relied absolutely on the protection afforded by England, and the amount of protection she could afford depended largely upon the supremacy of her sea power. The supremacy of that power also involved her supreme right to develop and direct the destinies of great colonial territories like our own continent in a manner entirely to her own interests; and since the advent of Mr. Chamberlain and his doctrine of Imperialism, the tendency to regard the colonial territories as the proper spoil of the proprietary nation has become more pronounced. Indeed, the mere suggestion that other nations have any rights whatever, in regard to the colonial territories over which the Union Jack flies to-day, is calculated to arouse the dire wrath of those gentlemen whose lofty orations ever impress upon the vulgar mind the necessity of "thinking Imperially"; and the proposition that a great continent like our own should be

developed with due regard to the rights of all men, rather than one race only, may be in the opinion of those gentlemen rank disloyalty.

In the past it has always been easy to direct Australian affairs from the city of London, and it has been, and still is, the policy of London (which exclusively supplies our foreign news) to exaggerate its own importance as the hub of the Universe and belittle or malign other countries, lest the colonial mind should be unduly impressed by their progress. There is an old story of an Indian Rajah who was brought practically a prisoner to London that his loyalty might feed on its wonders, but was not permitted to land on the European continent, lest he might be astounded by the magnitude of the non-English world. But in the ripeness of time, and with the wonderful development of countries beyond the sphere of English civilisation, there have arisen conditions which threaten to alter the present status of great sparsely peopled colonial territories like our own country—conditions which compel the erewhile thoughtless Australian to take to himself more thought and to realise higher responsibilities. For the nations of Europe—and some outside of Europe—have grown great and powerful; they have, like the men of old, gone down to the sea in ships, and come to realise the benefits of sea power, trade, and colonisation; they have mastered the science of shipbuilding and the arts of seamanship and navigation in the highest degree of proficiency, and the resources of England have been taxed to the utmost to keep pace with their maritime progress.

The sudden realisation of the fact that England's claims to world supremacy are growing out of date caused a panic in Australia. Everyone will remember the great outburst of jingoism which occurred during the early part of the year 1909 following a discussion in the House of Commons on Germany's naval progress, when popular feeling expressed itself in a desire, not to improve Australian defences, but to present

England with a battleship. For the moment the cry was to rally round the Dear Old Motherland and help her to maintain an absolute maritime supremacy, which, since it implies an ultimate right to hold the fate of all nations in pawn, all the resources of the Empire cannot suffice to uphold. We were asked to rush wildly into the vortex of European polities, to pledge our whole resources in maintaining a condition of things, the inequality of which has aroused the just indignation of England's competitors; and without demanding a voice in controlling the expenditure of our own moneys, to stake our last shilling in issuing a militant challenge to the whole world; but no one suggested the calmer and more reasonable course of viewing our own national affairs in the light of responsibilities, not only to kindred States, but to those illustrious nations whose natural progress has caused so much alarm, and while providing for the future safety of our own country, placing its development on a basis which will do justice to all nations; thus removing, so far as this country is concerned, any real cause of attack. It does not seem to have been suggested that Australian policy should be guided by motives of a broad-minded humanity and enlightened regard for the welfare of our common world.

Very curious ideas regarding Australia's relative position in the modern world seem to prevail. Owing to Germany's industrial and maritime activity she has come to almost monopolise public attention in this Empire; but what Englishmen appear to be incapable of realising, in its full significance, is the fact that modern Germany is no more than the crowning material triumph of the men who are not English—the people who have never been subjected to the influence of English civilisation. To say that does not imply any under-estimation of the magnificent and independent progress of the American republic; but the United States, cosmopolitan, and very un-English in character, is to some extent an offshoot of English

civilisation. Germany is the greatest, most prosperous, and most progressive of all the countries in which the English tongue is not spoken. She above all other nations is actively engaged in opposing the idea of an English world monopoly. Germany merely as Germany is not so formidable, but as the leader of non-English civilisation she is very formidable indeed; and it is in this capacity that she is likely to exert the greatest influence over the future of great colonial dominions like our own Commonwealth. The enormous progress of the German war and merchant marine is only the material expression of the progress of German civilisation, but other nations, perhaps less conspicuous, are making progress in its way equally striking.

Take the case of Germany's great neighbor, Russia. The wildest misconceptions prevail wherever the English language is spoken as to the progress of that great Empire, but the advancement of Russia under the most adverse political circumstances has been really remarkable. In 1860, Russia had less than 1000 miles of railway, and to-day her Empire is traversed by a network of railways having an aggregate length of 43,000 miles. Canals connect the Caspian Sea with the Baltic, and the Baltic with the White Sea, and the tonnage of shipping on Russia's inland waterways exceeds that of the ocean shipping under any flag except the Union Jack itself. The oil refineries of Baku—conducted on the most scientific principles—are second only in importance to those of the United States, and the Moscow cotton mills are among the largest in the world. The establishment of democratic government, with the diffusion of education in Russia, must inevitably lead to an enormous development; and the news cabled on the 29th December, 1909, that the Obukov Works at Petersburg had secured the first order from abroad and were supplying England with 30,000 tons of steel is significant. We have lately witnessed a great upheaval which has shaken the foundations of autoeratic government in Russia, and

the Russian Parliament (whose members unlike those of England are paid for their services) has apparently come to stay.

The following message, published in the "Sunday Sun," of New York, on August 30th, 1908, shows the enormous development that is taking place in Siberia:—"A great new nation is forming in Siberia. One of the most gigantic migrations in history has been proceeding so quietly that the world generally has not noticed the movement. During the last twelvemonth more than 500,000 Russians have gone to Siberia, a number equal to half the number of immigrants the United States received during that period from the whole earth. Prince Vassiltchikoff, Minister of Agriculture, has furnished the Duma with the figures of the migration across the Ural Mountains. For several years before 1906 it was 60,000 annually; in 1906 it was 180,000; in 1907 it was 400,000. In the first three months of this year it was 420,000, comprised in 70,000 families. The accounts of Siberia brought home by the soldiers returning from the Russo-Japanese war have impressed the poverty-stricken mujiks with glowing ideas of Siberia's vast natural wealth. The peasantry have little faith besides in the measures the Grand Council of the Empire is taking to settle the burning agrarian question. The emigrants seldom go singly or even in families. They gather in colonies for the exodus."

The popular conviction that England is the only country which possesses rich and growing colonies is further shaken when we consider the growth of the French colonies in Africa. In the northern part of that continent France possesses a continuous aera of territory larger than the Australian Commonwealth, much of which is being opened up by white settlement. The European population of Algeria has increased from six hundred in 1830 to 500,000 in 1901, and the European and Jewish population of Algeria and Tunis

now stands at about 800,000. Since French occupation the imports of Algeria have increased fifty-fold and the exports a hundred-fold.

Turning next to the Latin-American republics, which are too frequently regarded as mainly productive of fiery revolutions, gory romances, and throat-slitting banditti, we find that in 1909 there were in the Argentine Republic 15,746 miles of railway, of which 1000 miles had been added in 1908; while, according to the official year book, there were in the Australian Commonwealth, in the year 1908, 16,212 miles of railway. Considering that Argentine is less than half the size of Australia (though containing a slightly larger population), the advantage in favor of this country is nothing wonderful. Moreover, the production of wheat in Argentina during the year 1907 almost equalled that of Canada and Australia combined. Brazil, Chili, and Uruguay, all have their tales of material progress, while in Mexico, under the administration of President Porfirio Diaz, the advancement has been amazing. The revenue has increased from nineteen million dollars in 1876 to eighty-one million dollars in 1904, and the interest on the public debt has been regularly paid; the construction of roads, railways, and electric trams has been pushed on; harbors have been improved; agricultural settlements have been established; exports of agricultural produce have increased nearly eleven times; new works to drain the valley on which the City of Mexico stands have been completed at a cost of sixteen million dollars; compulsory education has been introduced, and pupils at the public schools have increased from 192,000 to 764,000; while there is in Mexico no State religion, and all creeds are tolerated. Nor is material progress confined to those States occupied by the white race. We have recently witnessed the awakening of Japan, Turkey, Persia, and China, and now England is confronted with the problem of an awakening India. It is all one grand story of universal progress, in which

Australia has her worthy share. England and Germany may eat each other like Kilkenny cats, but the world will still march on.

We are told that the first necessity is Imperial defence, though other nations, while feeling themselves perfectly secure in their present political circumstances, are at perfect liberty to develop their natural resources without sharing any of the risks and responsibilities of Imperialism; but to Australians there is a necessity above that of Imperial defence, and that is to people Australia with a white race—white not in the narrow racial sense of the word, but white in conscience, pure of heart and bright of intelligence—a race strong enough and sufficiently self-confident to ensure the future safety of a great continental nation. The question of population is the first of all questions to Australia, and it is indissolubly bound up with the question of national defence. For it is obvious that without a sufficiently large population there can be no adequate defence, and the true test of ownership of any country is effective occupation—the utilisation of the land to its fullest extent to provide “the greatest good of the greatest number.”

Therefore, the true policy for Australia is one which, while seeking to do justice to all other countries, will strive to effectively populate Australia and make it strong enough to protect itself. So far the young Australian nation has grown well. The several colonies have progressed and have federated into one Commonwealth. The machinery of Federal government has been established. The path to nationhood lies before us, and the character of the future nation will be largely influenced by the actions of the people of the present generation. So it behoves this generation to look well to the future, and as the citizens of a more fully developed Australia may look at matters from a vastly different standpoint, it is well that we should place no restrictions upon future freedom of action, nor commit young Australia to anything which

a greater Australia may repudiate, just as our predecessors handed much of the choicest land of Australia over to squatters and monopolists, who have locked it up against needy settlers. Whatever we do ought to be well thought out, not merely with a view to promoting the present system of Imperialism, which by the force of circumstances may soon pass away, but with proper consideration for the future welfare of a self-reliant and self-sufficient nation.

IMPERIALISM.

THROUGHOUT the Australian Commonwealth to-day the spirit of Imperialism prevails, and Australia is commonly regarded as a country having no distinct political existence and incapable by itself of any high destiny—a country whose interests are on all occasions to be subordinated to those of the Motherland. There is in Australia a sense of worshipful servility and reverence towards the old land, with all its hoary traditions. This spirit is fostered by every possible means by the Australian daily press, whose news comes entirely from London, and is colored with all the prejudices of that city. In the newspapers published throughout Australia the most trivial events transpiring in England are recorded, and no matter how conservative or hopelessly reactionary an English politician may be, his utterances will be cabled at length and published in the Australian press. A due veneration of royalty and aristocracy, and a sense of the unrivalled importance of everything appertaining to the old land, is instilled by these mouthpieces of Imperialism, which are ever engaged in assiduously preaching the doctrine of "The Empire right or wrong," and inculcating into the mind of this young democracy the need of ordering itself lowly and reverently to its superiors. So they go on, from day to day, dealing out public opinion made in the metal-pot, cast in the paper-mould, and reeled off the cylinder; like high priests in the gilded temple of Mammon, they swing the censer and burn incense before their little josses, with anthems of editorial drivel, organ-blasts of screaming type, and strange mummeries of diurnal rant, cant, and humbug; and all the time the progress of foreign countries is ignored and events of far-reaching and universal importance

allowed to transpire without notice, the newspaper system in general being devised to bolster up the idea that England is the one progressive country on earth.

It is true that foreign nations now and again do certain things that command the attention of even the Australian press. When American capital descends on the English merchant marine, and acquires a large section of it, or the Germans set about building the largest steamers in the world, the press of this country is compelled to pay heed—and does so in a few brief lines—but great enterprises and engineering achievements in all parts of the world are allowed to pass unnoticed, while a reader of the daily papers might remain in complete ignorance of great political events in foreign countries or the progress of Social Democracy all over the world. It is quite characteristic of these newspapers that they have no conception of the brotherhood of the workers of all nations, and little love for those of their own. Few references are made to the progress of the Labor movement in any country, and few indeed of Australian readers, who are regaled with the exploits of Lords and Dukes, have heard of Eugene Debs, the Socialist candidate for the American Presidency (who at the 1908 election polled nearly 800,000 votes) or the growing power of Social Democracy in the United States, which enables one Socialist newspaper to command 340,000 subscribers.

In the general enthusiasm for Imperial ideals local and national interests seem to be lost sight of. Australians are too prone to shape their ideals according to the narrow views prevalent in the old country. Is the true object of Australian statesmanship the establishment of a brutal world supremacy for the English race, or the development of Australia by a white race; or is the destiny of this great continent by any means inferior in importance to that of a small island in the North Atlantic? According to the prevalent view, any disaster which might befall the

old country would inevitably mean the entire ruin of this Commonwealth; but that is by no means apparent. Whatever might happen to England, this continent, with its vast resources and possibilities, would still remain. The Australian continent must be developed, and its riches utilised to their fullest extent—but by whom? It is not of so much importance who develops this country as that the highest standard of civilisation should be maintained. It would not be a calamity even if it were occupied by the colored races, provided they were capable of maintaining the desired standard. Were this planet invaded from Mars by a race of intelligent tarantulas, who, arriving on this orb, would proceed to exterminate its present inhabitants, or put them in hermetically sealed receptacles and shoot them up to the neighboring planet—there to be vivisected by studious scientists, or stuffed with kapok, or placed in cages and teased with straws by young Martians—that at first sight would appear to be a calamity.

The most unbiassed philosopher might find it difficult to overcome a prejudice against being fired on to another planet, and dissected by strange spiders; but if those beings were infinitely higher than ourselves in the scale of evolution (and they would need to be in order to traverse the realms of space) they would soon make this planet a better and happier one. But the colored races, far from being mentally and morally superior to Europeans, are—notwithstanding their recent adaptation of western methods—still in a backward condition. They possess sufficient knowledge of the arts of modern war to make them formidable, but tried by the real test of civilisation they are found wanting.

The real danger to this Commonwealth from a European conflict would be this—that while two great European nations were destroying each other an Asiatic nation, inferior in civilisation to either, might take advantage of their misfortunes to swoop down upon this Commonwealth. Moreover, a European conflict

is more likely to hinge upon the question of whether great colonial dominions like Australia are to be developed, solely in the interests of one nation or impartially in the interests of all, than upon any local European question. It seems almost impossible under existing circumstances that any European nation would be able to occupy such places as Canada, Australia, and South Africa; and even if they were occupied it is difficult to understand what advantage would be derived from disturbing the present system of government. Is it to be believed that the best educated nation in the world would be so lacking in statesmanship and foresight as to try and manage this country in the bureaucratic and arbitrary manner which England has long ago been obliged to abandon? At least the people of this Commonwealth are not Hindus or Egyptians, and from a purely practical point of view that would be an unprofitable and unscientific method of doing the business. But a great European Power, even if defeated, would yet be victorious in this—that she would deploy such terrible forces of destruction that England—even a victorious England—would be for the time being (and perhaps for all time) crippled, and find herself and her colonies at the mercy of neutral Powers. Thrown on the mercy of foreign Powers, and forced to rely upon the clemency of nations ever alive to their own commercial interests, the colonies would be forced to abrogate all special commercial and political privileges extended to England; they would be cut loose from the apron strings of the Dear Old Motherland, and forced to stand before the world as nations, having the rights of nationhood, but compelled to recognise the rights of other nations. It would mean republicanism, and republicanism with a vengeance; and though it is not by any means a cheerful prospect, even to the most whole-hearted republican, there are some hoary old men in this country who may yet live to see an Independent Australia. At least the implicit endorse-

ment of a policy of exclusive or aggressive Imperialism may be the means of separating the colonies from the Motherland sooner than would be the case if a policy of avowed republicanism were adopted. If England and any great European Power went to war to-morrow Canada would belong to the United States, without the necessity of issuing a proclamation of annexation.

It is quite evident that the people of this Commonwealth will stake their whole resources in protecting the Motherland from injury; yet there is no reason why they should not ensure for themselves a sufficient surplus of defensive power to ensure the safety of the Commonwealth in the event of disaster overwhelming the Motherland. The Australian Commonwealth should be able to take care of itself under any circumstances. No disaster to the Old Country could be so far reaching in its consequences to human civilisation as the occupation of the Australian continent by barbarous races. The people of the United Kingdom, like those of Holland to-day, might be just as happy, prosperous, and comfortable without extensive colonies as they ever were with them; but the occupation of the Australian continent by the colored races would be an irreparable calamity to the world. There is a possibility of the present Imperial system being shattered by forces with which it is entirely beyond the powers of this Commonwealth to contend, yet with proper prevision and foresight there is no reason why the Commonwealth should not survive the wreck, and it would be better for England and English civilisation that it should. A ship may founder despite the most heroic efforts of the crew, but when the ship sinks the lifeboats ought to be seaworthy.

One of the commonest methods by which the Imperialist, or capitalist, press seeks to inspire admiration for the present Imperial system is by representing this Empire as the freest place in the world. But apart from the fact that there are other

countries of equal civilisation, there have been occasions when the flag of this Empire stood for anything but liberty. In fact, it may be remembered that on one occasion, within the memory of all Australians, it stood for Chinese slavery. During the progress of the infamous war which preceded the establishment of that system in South Africa, certain Boer prisoners were taken to Colombo, and one night they managed to swim out in the harbor, a distance of some miles, to a Russian steamer. They were welcomed by the Russians, and being treated with that warm-hearted hospitality which—at least among the common people—is the noblest characteristic of the noble Slav race, were taken to a Russian port and set free—in Russia. Now, as those men were swimming through the waters of Colombo harbor, with the loaded rifles of the English guards behind them and the sharks around them, which stood for liberty—the red, white and blue of England or the red, blue and white of Old Russia?

We hear a great deal of the privileges of English citizenship and the protection which is afforded to the subject of this Empire in foreign lands. For instance, take Sir Wilfrid Laurier's reply to a Canadian M.P., quoted by Sir A. Spicer in London, as follows:—

“ He wished to read one extract from a speech of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, which he made the other day in reply to a representative from one of the French districts, from Jacques Cartier. It was in reply to a member who was, to a certain extent, repudiating the obligation of Canada to take its share in the defence of the Empire. Sir Wilfrid Laurier said: ‘ I have to say to my honorable friend that I hold in my hand at the present moment a letter which I received a few days ago from a friend who was a visitor in the city of Rome, which letter will show my honorable friend what are our rights and privileges as British subjects. My honorable friend knows that there is in the city of Rome a Canadian college, built

a few years ago by priests of the Society of St. Sulpice of Montreal, and maintained by them for the education of young Roman Catholic students in theology. At the date of my friend's letter, on October 16, the city of Rome, like many other cities of Continental Europe, was in the throes of a violent emotion occasioned by the execution of Professor Ferrer in Barcelona. Riots were imminent at different points of the city. The Spanish Embassy at the Quirinal, the Spanish Embassy at the Vatican, and the Russian Embassy had to be guarded by strong detachments of the Italian army. Streets and public squares were filled by an infuriated mob, swearing vengeance, yelling and hurling threats at convents and religious communities of all descriptions. My friend asked the reverend father superior of the college if he was apprehensive of danger. Mark the answer. I commend it especially to my honorable friend from Jacques Cartier: "No," said the reverend superior; "I shall hoist the British flag if we are attacked. The British flag is our talisman here." , , , ,

This would imply that the citizen of this Empire, when abroad, enjoys a privilege not accorded to the citizens of smaller states. The Englishman may go where he likes, and the dignity of English citizenship goes with him, and as he wanders in foreign lands he holds his head aloft and cries to the world: "Touch me not; Hi'm a blarsted Hinglishman." Beautiful legend; and, as Mark Twain says, "beautiful lie." Now for the unromantic truth. Mr. W. T. Stead, in his book "The Truth About Russia," relates an incident of the administration of that heinous tyrant and persecuting bigot, M. Pobedonestzeff (whom only the culpable neglect of Providence spared from an assassin's bomb), which shows how the Government of the world's greatest land empire regards the dignity of English citizenship. The following is a summary of the narrative:—

" Edward Hilton was a British subject. He was well-to-do, occupying an influential position as the manager for a wealthy noble in a region far removed from the seat of government, where his benevolence, his tact, and his good sense kept everything in peace and order. He could invoke the interference of the British Ambassador, and his employer had friends who were highly placed at court. . . . On March 30, 1884, Edward Hilton received a summons from the *Ispravnik*, or head of police, requesting his immediate attendance. Thinking that there had been some disturbance somewhere on the estate, he went over to the *Ispravnik's* house to hear what was the matter. He was astounded when he received peremptory orders, issued by the Minister of the Interior, Count Tolstoi (M. Pobedonestzeff's shadow) to leave Russia in forty-eight hours. He was accused of no crime. He was offered no opportunity of repelling any charge. He was simply ordered to bundle up his baggage and depart. . . . Describing his journey afterwards he wrote: 'I had to walk across one of the rivers—the *Rela*—at a place where it is some 200 feet wide, and where the ice still remained, though just a little higher up, and also a little lower down the stream, great gaps were to be seen, and even where I crossed the ice was discolored and for the most part covered with water. I had to walk upon poles about seventeen feet long and three inches thick, loosely laid end to end in rows of three abreast. Many of the workmen accompanied me to the river-side, but only two ventured to cross over with me. The others shrank from the risk, knowing that at any moment, especially considering the friction from the tossing blocks higher up, the ice might break up, in which case the chances of saving one's life would be but slight. . . . Sir Edward Thornton was then our Ambassador at St. Petersburg. He appealed to M. de Giers, enquiring why a British subject should be thus harshly treated. To which M. de Giers replied, on the authority of M. Pobedonstzeff,

that: 'Edward Hilton is a fervent adherent of a religious sectarian, and notwithstanding repeated warnings persists in propagating doctrines forbidden by the dominant church.' . . . When Mr. Hilton came to Petersburg to remonstrate with the Chief of the Third Section of Police he was told: 'We need no investigation or trial to send a foreigner out of Russia. The Government have made up their minds that you shall leave Russia. I advise you to do so.' . . . Sir Edward Thornton said to him as he bade him farewell: 'Well, Mr. Hilton, I have done all I can for you. It is a sad case. You have been treated shamefully. But what can I do? I do not say it is just, but they have a right to send foreigners out of the country if they feel so inclined.' "

To a powerful country, capable of managing its own affairs, the Englishman is simply a foreigner, who may be jostled with impunity by any ordinary policeman; and, moreover, the establishment of liberty and personal security for those Englishmen, whom circumstances may oblige to dwell in a country like Russia, depends far more upon the success of the heroic efforts of those who, relying on no privilege but that of their own manhood, are heroically striving to improve social conditions in Russia (and who in England itself are regarded as the enemies of society) than on the remonstrances of English Governments or the chicanery of English diplomats, who are now assiduously courting the alliance of Russia against her more civilised neighbors. It is all very fine to bombard a village or hang a few Chinamen who have murdered a too venturesome missionary, but the safety of the stranger in a strange land depends not upon his own government, but the government of the country he is living in.

It is usually taken for granted that without the support of the Empire the Australian Commonwealth would be unable to exist, and that the protection of the Empire is absolutely necessary to Australia, yet

a glance at the map of the world reveals the existence of many nations, not more populous than Australia, whose existence seems to be in nowise in jeopardy. At Australia's doors there lie the rich and populous possessions of Holland, ably administered without foreign interference. The little republic of Switzerland is the freest country in the world, and is in nowise subject to foreign influence. Roumania preserves its independence as the neighbor of the largest two European States; and the separation of Norway from Sweden and the declaration of Bulgarian independence in recent years have amply demonstrated that there are some small nations which are not afraid to take care of themselves. Then we find that the whole of South America, with the exception of three minor provinces, is taken up by independent States, one of them the largest republic in the world. It might be argued that those States are under the protection of the United States. That, however, would be an unfortunate argument from the Imperial point of view, for they extend to the United States no commercial or political preference whatever. American trade with those States only amounts to 13.8 per cent. of the whole, and the American flag is rarely displayed by merchant vessels in South American ports, for there are only eleven American steamers engaged in foreign trade in the whole world. The United States would seem to be a model of national generosity and the lot of the South American States an enviable one. But it may be asked: If the United States protects the South American republics from the rest of the world, who protects them from the United States? Is it not obvious that if the United States sought for itself any exclusive commercial or political privileges in South America it would soon find itself face to face with a European coalition, headed by those very Powers which are too often regarded as mere rivals. Has England forgotten that, except in the China Campaign (when she and her neighbor vindicated the common civilisation

of which they are the highest prototypes), the only occasion on which the great German navy has been actively engaged, in recent years, was when side by side with her own it upheld common rights against a South American republic, whose cause had been brutally championed against her—even to the verge of war—by her dearly beloved American “cousins” but a few years previously? Or do Englishmen believe that their German cousins would not be as ready to uphold their rights against the United States as against England herself? The independence of the South American republics is secured by international diplomacy and their own resources of defence, for it must not be forgotten that the leading South American States have very respectable armies, and the Argentine Republic (which has adopted universal service) possesses an army of 250,000 men on a war footing.

In his book “*Canada As It Is*” Mr. John Foster Fraser tells how he silenced a Canadian republican by asking him what would happen if at that time—it being the time of the Russo-Japanese war—Canadian steamers had been held up by Russian warships in the Pacific. That of course implies that, without the protection of the Imperial navy, there would be no security for Canadian steamers. But it is surprising that that Canadian was not astute enough to ask how Norway protected its shipping, for the Norwegian flag flies over 1,982,000 tons of shipping, and Norway owns a greater tonnage of steam shipping alone than Japan. At the very time Mr. Fraser speaks of, Norwegian steamers, navigated with the skill and daring for which Norsemen are noted, were running through the lines of the Japanese fleet, and carrying contraband cargo into Port Arthur, yet throughout the war there was no instance of the Norwegian flag, where engaged in peaceful traffic on the high seas, having been insulted by the warships of either belligerent.

England is to-day the industrial, as well as the political, centre of the Empire. Her factories provide most of the manufactured articles that the colonies require, and her ships convey those articles to every port in the Empire. Her Admiralty controls the supreme naval power of the Empire, and conscious of her own absolute power she derives very material advantages from the development of the great colonial territories, while directing the foreign policy of the Empire to suit her own ends. That the colonies should develop into countries of greater industrial and political importance than the Motherland, or that the centre of power should shift from London, seems to be far from the minds of Imperial statesmen. Nor does her foreign policy seem to be at all guided by consideration of the interests of the colonies.

Australians all remember the visit of the American battleships a few years ago, and need not be reminded that they were the only battleships ever seen in these waters. Their presence here was a practical demonstration of what ought to be obvious to all Australians—that the destiny of Australia is likely to be influenced in no small measure by foreign countries. Under what circumstances was that memorable voyage made? It was undertaken because of the strained relations which existed between the United States and Japan, and a short time before the enthusiastic reception of the American sailors by Australia the American press was seriously discussing the possibility of war with England through the Anglo-Japanese alliance, which expressly provided for the conduct of common war in the event of the territorial rights of either party in Eastern Asia being assailed. Had England honestly fulfilled her obligations under that treaty she would have been obliged to go to war with the United States in the event of a conflict between that Power and Japan. It is a matter for speculation what would have become of Australia's great national ideal under those circumstances; but certain it is that the daily press of this

country would have denounced the United States as a brutal and braggart aggressor, and that there is in this country a servile element which would follow the Motherland even through the gates of Sheol. The Australian people might have been black fellows or gum trees so far as their voice in the making of that treaty was concerned, for its existence was known in Petersburg before it was known publicly in London, being in fact first notified to the people of this Empire by a telegraphic message to the London press from the Russian capital, as the treaty was made in secret, and it suited Downing-street to notify the Czar—next to the signatories the most interested party—before making the citizens of this responsible democracy aware of its existence.

With the foreign policy of the Empire under the absolute control of the Parliament of Westminster, and possibly a reactionary and capitalistic Government, this Commonwealth may be dragged into war under the most unjustifiable conditions, and European politics must always exercise a dominant influence on Australia's foreign relations. England is ever dabbling in European politics, and trying to secure for herself some advantage over her continental neighbors in their own sphere, while seeking to be arbiter of the whole world beyond Europe. The latest exhibition of England's meddling in Continental European politics has been signalised by miserable failure. In her capacity of a great, democratic, and liberty-promoting country, she endeavored to prevent the liberation of the gallant little State of Bulgaria from the thralldom of the Turk and the incorporation in the Austrian Empire of States which had been under Austrian control for thirty years. Her virtuous indignation at the action of the Austrian Government, in view of her own world-wide predatory enterprises, was the laughing-stock of the world. By her meddling in European affairs she achieved nothing, beyond demonstrating to the people of her own colonies that she

is no longer arbiter of the Continent, and that when the bull-pups of Europe gambol in their own backyard the safest place for strange tomcats is on the fence.

It seems to be an axiom of England's foreign policy that the progress of any and every country is inimical to her well-being. Her policy has been directed in turn against France, Holland, Denmark, Spain, and Russia, and during the American Civil War she rejoiced at the prospect of the dismemberment of a great rival, and enthusiastically embraced the cause of negro slavery. To-day she is faced with a new situation in Europe. No longer can petty States be played against each other, for a few powerful nations have practically divided the continent. The Austrian Empire has become united, a distinct Italian Nation has been evolved, Russia has made great material progress, and—most important of all—the German States have federated, confronting England with an intelligent, united nation in Central Europe. Against this latest rival England's whole efforts seem to be directed, but it is only seemingly, for behind that embodiment of rival material power called Germany there lies a steadily developing continent, whose people, apparently divided by racial prejudices, are in reality actuated by common ideals. As an English Imperialist surveys the rapid growth of Continental Europe, now happily, and for forty years past, peacefully developing its industries and cultivating science; as he sees a Frenchman flying across the Channel, an Italian electrician revolutionising the art of navigation, and finds an Austrian organizing one of the most efficient navies in the world, he may be led to exclaim, with the jingoistic vehemence of the old-time orator: "Delenda est Europa." Here is a continent where the earth reverberates with the roar of ten thousand engines, where smiling valleys and well tilled plains send forth their teeming multitudes, where the night is illumined with the blaze of a thousand cities, where mighty shipyards dotted round the coast-line resound

with the din of ceaseless labor, and where men are ever evolving new schemes to change the whole condition of life upon this planet—and that continent ought to be blotted out or submerged in mid-ocean; or as he looks wider afield, and views the progress of engineering and shipbuilding in all parts of the world, he may—if he could be tempted to imitate the words of a foreign statesman—be led to exclaim: “*La civilisation voila l'ennemi.*”

England is by no means alone in the adoption of a brutal and selfish policy. All great Powers are alike in that respect, and even that “*Land of the Free,*” the United States, when it attacked Mexico, committed an act of Imperialistic aggression equal to the choicest iniquities of the Old World. The foreign policy of all great world Powers is dictated by that class which, while exploiting the workers in the home country, seeks to extend the system of spoliation abroad. It is, moreover, a good thing in the eyes of the ruling classes that when the workers of a country become too restless under their burdens—as was the case in Russia recently—there should be available a ready means of distracting their attention by precipitating foreign complications, though the example of Russia has shown that the results of such a policy may be far different to those desired. Throughout the world to-day there exists an infamous system of spoliation of the many by the few—a system of selfishness and greed which reeks with the rottenness of corruption in its whole fabric. Until that system is destroyed war, with all its attendant horrors, will continue to be regarded largely as a commercial enterprise. But under present circumstances predatory tendencies are kept in check chiefly by the influence of powerful nations upon one another, and it is undesirable that any nation should become arbiter of the world.

The true development of this Empire lies in the direction of a federation of equal self-governing States, each having absolute power to control its own foreign

as well as domestic affairs. An Imperial Council, even with full representation of the Commonwealth, could not deal so effectively as the Commonwealth itself with such questions as a "White Australia," and one of the chief functions of Australian foreign policy will be to control Australian relations with the colored races within the Empire. Under existing circumstances Australians, while ever ready to participate in England's European squabbles, naturally expect England to be ready to settle any difficulties that Australian policy may create; but that is a position obviously as unfair to England as it is to Australia. Is it just to expect England to be ever ready to shoulder Australian national responsibilities? The glaring evils that exist in their own country command the whole attention of England's workers, and the war of the classes against the masses has heaped up in that country greater misery than could be inflicted by an actual armed conflict. With all the glorious achievements of the English race, and its world-wide Imperial sway, hundreds of thousands of Englishmen have no homes to call their own and no permanent employment. What is a "White Australia" to them? Tens of thousands of men and women in England drag out an existence under conditions of degradation, squalor, and depravity which are a blot to human civilisation. What is Australian social purity to them? When Australia has sufficiently developed her resources to acquire a capacity, as well as a determination, to mind her own business she will be wise in leaving to Europe the solution of European problems.

Looking around the Empire to-day we find that the system of government is most unrepresentative. We hear much of self-governing colonies, but, as a matter of fact, there is only one self-governing colony in which the English language is spoken. It is that colony whose chief city is a thriving little village on Manhattan Island, known and endeared to the whole human family, as well as to its own citizens, by the

glorious title of New York Cosmopolis. One of the most venerable and hallowed traditions relating to the public life of this country is that Australia is a free country. But it is a fact—and it is time the Australian people were told some facts—it is a brutal fact that there is no such thing as freedom in Australia. If freedom means anything at all—if it is worth anything at all—it means absolute freedom in controlling the foreign, as well as the domestic, affairs of the nation; and while every Australian citizen is liable to be called upon at the whim of a Government in whose election he has no voice to lay down his life her boasted democracy is a mere farce. The Australian Parliament is always ready to pledge its whole resources in support of the Motherland in any policy that it may adopt; nor does it seem possible under existing circumstances that it could do otherwise, even if it were so disposed; and the experience of the Boer war has amply demonstrated that those who ventured to disagree with Imperial policy would be subjected to the most brutal and intolerant violence. A dispute might arise in Europe over some such remote problem as the construction of an Austrian railway to Salonika, the passage of the Dardanelles by Russian warships, the fortification of the Aland Islands by Russia, or the construction of a German railway to the Persian Gulf, and the attitude of the typical Australian would be like that of the Chicago barman, who was all for the taking of the Phillipines, but did not know which one of the street cars would take him there.

In the most populous dominion of the Empire there is no pretence of self-government at all, nor does there seem to be any desire on the part of the Imperial Government to encourage the aspirations of the native races in that direction. Japan, China, Persia, and even some of the native States of India have demonstrated the ability of the native Asiatic races to govern themselves on modern lines, but to-day the government

of India is more arbitrary than that of Russia, and has produced the same crop of anarchy and terrorism. Hitherto when the newspapers published accounts of bomb outrages the thoughts of the casual reader at once flew to Russia, but now the scene has changed. Russia enjoys a measure of self-government, but India seethes with anarchy, and those who sympathised with the poor, oppressed Russians are now the tyrants of the oppressed Indian. In Egypt, too, the ruling class is equally opposed to the demand for self-government. Like causes produce like effects, and those who impartially observe England's attitude towards the natural aspirations of the natives of India and Egypt may reasonably infer that as the terrorism in Russia was produced by a hideous system of tyranny, repulsive to the conscience of every intelligent westerner, and which won for the most violent anarchists the sympathy of Englishmen themselves, the present trouble in India is not altogether due to the fanatical temperament of the Asiatic. If those races which form the vast majority of the Empire's people are to be governed by a system that is an absolute negation of all democracy, what becomes of the ideal of Imperial federation?

It is very curious in connection with the naming of this Empire that although the native-born Englishman is absolute master of the Empire, and through his local Parliament at Westminster arbiter in every part thereof, he is modest enough not to apply to it the name of his own race. The Empire of the great Slav race is commonly known as the Russian Empire, and the Empire of the English is rightly called by foreigners (for instance, ex-President Roosevelt) the English Empire; for the civilisation of this Empire is the civilisation of England, and the law of this Empire is the word of England. As yet no province has become sufficiently self-reliant to establish independent ideals or cultivate distinct national characteristics. Some day, perhaps when the

great Asiatic races, who while constituting the vast majority of the Empire's citizens are yet deemed unworthy of participating in the administration of any part thereof, claim their birthright, and upon the simple principle of majority rule demand either that they shall rule the Empire or that the Empire shall not rule them, or when the colonies have advanced sufficiently to regard themselves as self-dependent nations, this Empire (if its political associations continue) may deserve another name; but as it exists to-day candid men may, without prejudice, and with all honor to its enterprising and energetic founders, describe it by the name of the race whose language is spoken throughout the length and breadth thereof. It is the English Empire, and John Brown of Essex owns every acre, every nigger, every "Fenian" agitator, and every "freeborn" colonial citizen thereof. God bless you, man John, and may you long enjoy your "propputty," but may it be developed in accordance with the higher ideals of human civilisation, rather than exploited for selfish ends.

Harmonious co-operation between the various States of the English-speaking world, as distinct from the adoption of a brutal Imperial policy, is in itself desirable. For instance, Australia is deeply interested in the settlement of such questions as the future of the Suez Canal. A company cannot always be allowed to administer that canal primarily with a view to its own profit, and not to the service of international shipping. Under proper control all dues on the canal could be abolished. That is, indeed, an international problem which calls for the amicable co-operation of all civilised nations. Australian steamships proceeding to Europe via the Cape of Good Hope could hardly fail to utilise the facilities at Capetown, and the Cape is also a convenient halfway station for telegraphic communication either by cable or ethergraph with Europe, and the fraternising of Canada, South Africa, and Australia must obviously be in the interests of

all. If England's colonies do not now enjoy the privileges of nationhood, they at least enjoy the prestige of membership of a great Empire; but the fraternising of English-speaking States should not involve the adoption of a brutal or exclusive policy towards other nations, and the Commonwealth should seek to promote close and harmonious relations with all civilised States.

Australians usually pride themselves on being a non-aggressive people, fair in all their dealings with the whole world, but apart from the fact that they have adopted an exclusive policy towards the Oriental races, which can only be justified by extending an unequivocal welcome to all Europeans, Australians are ever ready to give the most unquestioning support to a brutal Imperial policy. They have also granted a preference to English manufactures, the underlying principle of which is that European countries ought to be debarred from trading with this country, and that the exploitation of the Australian continent should be wholly and solely for the benefit of England's citizens, artisans, and manufacturers. It matters not that Australia is compelled to deal largely with other countries. That is the true underlying principle of Imperial preference, and that policy is no less than a challenge to the whole world.

The question of preference is a question altogether apart from the development of Australian industries by a protective tariff. Protection is the fixed policy of most countries, and though experience has shown that its rigors might with advantage be modified, in the case of a country like the United States, to a young nation with ample resources, and a desire to develop them, it is an absolutely essential policy. But the doctrine of preference is that this country, and all territories like it, belong exclusively to the English race, and it is a doctrine inconsistent with recognition

of the necessity of welcoming the co-operation of other races and courting the goodwill of other nations in building up the Commonwealth.

If ever war is brought about between England and that greatest of all European States, whose power is only the material expression of Continental European progress, it will be fought—so far as Germany is concerned—on this question of Imperial preference, and the annihilation of England's power to exploit the colonial territories solely in her own interests would be for Germany a fair recompense for the sacrifices involved. During the recent election controversy in England Herr Harden, a distinguished writer, in one of the leading German newspapers, declared that there were Germans who said that a preferential tariff which closed this Empire to German goods would have to be pierced by the German sword. That statement may seem shocking to the Australian public, but it merely shows that there are some thoughtful and candid men in Germany, whose opinions are more to the point than the orations of the Kaiser or the effusions of peace apostles. When wars begin to be fought not to suit the caprice of monarchs or to swell the pockets of a privileged few, but to vindicate the natural rights of a whole people, then war is removed to a higher level, and we are not far from the total abolition of war—not merely physical war, but the insidious, underhand war, which, with hypocritical professions of peaceful intent and unctuous declarations of Christian brotherhood, strives to sap the vitality of a rival nation and reduce its workers to political helplessness. A war fought to uphold the natural rights of a nation might not be justifiable in a purely moral sense—what war ever was?—but it would be a rational war—a war fought with an intelligent motive; and in these days war can hardly be embarked upon unless it is inspired by motives that commend themselves to the majority of an educated democracy. The success of the Boer war was due to the fact that the press was able to

convince the English people that it was being fought with righteous motives; and, to do them justice, the English people did honestly believe that they were going to promote civilisation and not Chinese slavery in the Transvaal. It is time that the people of this Empire realised that in dealing with Germany they are dealing, not merely with a Kaiser or a Chancellor, or a conclave of diplomats, who may at will deal with the German people as with so many pawns on a chess-board, but with a great educated, scientific, and democratic community. After all, this question of Anglo-German rivalry reduces itself to this: Here are two great and worthy nations, each demanding the right to live, yet compelled by force of circumstances to oppose each other in asserting that simple right. Jingoism may be by no means confined to England, but on reading some of the things that are said and written about Germany by public men of this Empire, anyone might suppose that relations between this Empire and Germany would be more amiable if Germany were inhabited entirely by old women or very young ones. Would Australians themselves, if they were in Germany's position, calmly acquiesce in the absolute commercial or political monopoly by any race of any continent—even the smallest of the five? We all know that Germany is the most Socialistic as well as the best educated nation in the world. At the 1907 election the Socialists polled 3,260,000 votes, or 24.02 per cent. of the total number recorded. In a land of universal suffrage, where such a large proportion of the citizen force are Socialists, it would seem that a war undertaken merely for purposes of Imperialistic aggrandisement would be a most hazardous enterprise, and might end—as the Russo-Japanese war came near to ending—with Caesar's crown in the sewer. But what would German Social Democracy say to a war, practically forced upon Germany to vindicate trade rights and sustain the principle of the "open door," which in its application

to other countries has had the enthusiastic support of Englishmen themselves? Germany is a nation dependent upon foreign trade. She depends to a far larger extent than any nation except England herself upon seaborne commerce, and as German trade involves the employment of the German worker, no matter what the social conditions in Germany may be—whether the fruits of German industry belong more to a few than to the million—any policy deliberately designed to ruin German trade and interrupt the employment of the German worker, under conditions of reasonable remuneration, must be resented by the most Socialistic of German workingmen.

No nation has ever endeavored to erect commercial barriers around such an enormous area of territory as this Empire contains. In few places have protectionist tariffs been erected where they cannot be justified for geographical reasons, as in the United States of America, Germany, and Australia itself. The Russian Empire is indeed protectionist, but if mineral oil were produced by the Japanese in Saghalin, it would be obviously against nature and common sense to devise a preferential tariff which would enable oil to be shipped more cheaply from Baku or Batoum—a distance of several thousand miles—than across the few hundred miles of the Japanese Sea from Saghalin to Vladivostock. When Japan, by virtue of the treaty of Portsmouth, obtained the right to fish in Siberian waters she was merely asserting that she had a natural right to share in the development of the natural resources of a territory which was politically foreign. "No fish no rice, no rice no Japs," ran the proverb, and the Oriental lesson is capable of an Occidental interpretation.

It is vain to argue that this continent belongs by all forms of international law, by annexation and colonisation, to England. No law can justify monopoly,

wherever perpetrated. If John Bull Imperialist has a perfect right to proclaim a monopoly over the fifth continent, then John Brown Individualist has a perfect right to claim a thousand square miles of the choicest land thereof, to erect a barbed wire fence around it, and build thereon a freestone mansion with the motto "God Bless Our Home" hung in the drawing-room, while proclaiming that that land belongs to him and the issue of his loins for all time, and warning his fellow-man to beware and tread not upon the blasted herbage. Monopolists great and small, individualists who would deny to your fellow-man the privileges that you enjoy, this age is no humor to reverently respect your privileges, and each and all of you will have to answer this question: Who handed you the earth; where was your proprietorship when the nebular germ of the solar system rolled in chaos?

In the open markets of the world to-day English manufacturers have shown their ability to hold their own, and there is no reason to believe that the establishment of equal trade relations between the colonies and the outside world would involve the ruin of English industries. When Australia becomes a manufacturing instead of an importing country, she will be a serious competitor with England and other European industrial nations, and will possibly find her most profitable markets outside of the Empire, namely, in China, Japan, the East Indies, Siberia, and South America. The maintenance of good relations between England and Germany seems to depend primarily upon each nation being able to find ample scope for its industrial activity, but the social problems of England, and all European countries, are far more serious than any mere questions of trade. After all it is not by bread alone that a nation lives, and the social evils of any country are not to be remedied by mere fiscal measures.

If the policy of Imperial preference is to be really Imperial—if it is not to be confined to a mere fraction

of the Empire's population—it will mean preference for the products of every part of the Empire and for the natives of all parts of the Empire as well. That is to say, that the products of cheap labor in Bombay and Calcutta should have an advantage over those of New York, and that the cheap and loyal rice-eater of Madras should be ever so much more welcome than the artisan from Trieste or Stettin. Would such a proposal meet with the enthusiastic support of a majority of Australian citizens? On the contrary, the citizen of Continental Europe is distinctly preferred to the "fellow-subject" from India. The citizens of Europe are welcome to this country because they are considered to be useful to it. But if it is a good thing to welcome the co-operation of European immigrants in building up this Commonwealth, is it not also a good thing to extend to the European nations the same equality of treatment? Is the man who prefers to promote the welfare of the land of his birth any less worthy, is he performing any less service to humanity, than he who leaves that land to assist in building up a new one? If a prosperous and powerful Australia would be an addition to civilisation, is not the prosperity, peace, and contentment of England and all European countries equally desirable? In so far as Australia's Imperial ideals will promote closer relationship with all English-speaking States they are laudable enough, but Imperial ideals should go far beyond those States, and should never be tempered by ill-will or hostility towards those other States which, under different circumstances, are striving to achieve an equally great destiny. Australian Imperialism should be mingled with a desire to know and understand the people of foreign nations and come into closer contact with them; thus, while promoting the development of Australia and seeking to acquire the ability to absolutely control its affairs, promoting the welfare not only of the English race but of the whole world.

THE INTERNATIONAL OPPOSITION.

FROM the standpoint of English Imperialism all foreign countries are more or less enemies, or at least rivals whose progress is to be watched with unappreciative jealousy, and whose maritime strength is to be weighed in the balance of the Two-Power standard; but a young and progressive colony, of vast resources and scant population, may find some better use for European civilisation than as a mere vehicle of war scares, militant jingoism, battleship funds, and editorial diatribes.

It needs no profound reasoning to show that the co-operation of the great white races, whose civilisation has grown up in opposition to England, is indispensable to this country. Whatever comes between Australia and those races is to be deeply deplored, and we may well ask: Is it not possible that, in spite of national animosities, all nations are marching towards one goal, and co-operating in one grand scheme of evolution (whose process kings cannot mar nor wars check) for the uplifting of the whole human race?

From the Australian point of view, the magnificent progress of other countries is to be rejoiced at, since it may provide Australia with an illimitable supply of sturdy immigrants, and by the progress of education and enlightenment abroad reduce the ever-present danger of an influx of persons unfitted to take part in responsible government. From a more liberal standpoint, of course, the progress of nations is to be rejoiced in as the uplifting of the common humanity to which we belong; but since in the natural course of events the most virile races are England's keenest rivals, animosity burns fiercely between herself and those States whose civilisation has made them most formidable

So to-day we find that the greatest of all European States (that which contains a greater number of educated white men than any other Empire) is England's dread foe; and as most Australians, in so far as they have paid any serious attention to the subject, have always regarded foreign politics from a merely traditional and sentimental point of view, it has come to pass that in Australia to-day the great German nation is persistently represented as our only probable and even possible enemy, and attention is riveted on the North Sea.

Few Australians seem to have realised that the present Anglo-German situation has arisen from—(1) Development of rival types of civilisation; (2) geographical circumstances; (3) commercial and industrial rivalry; (4) English command of international sea routes; (5) English monopoly and self-interested utilisation of vast colonial territories.

But the greatest misrepresentation that has been made is that the logical aim of German Imperialism is the acquisition of those vast colonial territories over which the Union Jack flies to-day, and especially of our own Commonwealth. Were it even so, German annexation is not the worst evil that could befall this Commonwealth. The Germans being men of our own standard of civilisation would not degrade that standard; whereas Australia's geographical position exposes her to the more serious menace of an influx of barbarous races. But let us consider whether an effective assertion of German sea power might not have far-reaching consequences without involving the annexation of any great colonial territory.

Until within the last few years a neighboring nation—France—stood in exactly the same relation to England as that in which Germany stands to-day. France is a land of historic fame, and the most momentous achievement of that great nation was not in the days of the mighty Napoleon, but on that glorious day when France stretched forth a liberating hand

across the Atlantic, and sundered forever the bonds which tied America to England; when Britannia's walls of oak were battered by a terrible artillery fire, and the riddled hulls of Admiral Graves' vessels fled before the united squadrons of De Grasse and De Barras; when the Grenadiers of the Gatinais regiment, side by side with their American comrades, stormed the last stronghold of Cornwallis, and His Majesty's warships in the harbor of Yorktown, amid the roaring of guns and bursting of shells, went up in a blaze whose glory outshone all the brilliance of Trafalgar.

On an island in New York harbor there stands to-day an enormous statue of Liberty—Liberty, which in America means no more than the liberty of all races to find freedom and independence, in a nation apart from Europe—designed by an artist of the continent which has provided the majority of America's citizens. Once dominating the scene, it is now itself dominated by the cloud-piercing structures of America's chief city. That statue commemorates the day when the nation which claimed America as its own was assailed by a leagued power, voicing the claims of all humanity, and the would-be monopoly of selfish Imperialism went down before the irresistible onslaught of universal civilisation. When England was confronted with a united Europe—Europe triumphed, and America was born.

The far-reaching consequences of France's action have indeed been such as few French statesmen could have dreamed of, and the material advantages which have accrued to France and to Europe have been vastly greater than they could have been had the United States simply found a change of masters and been involved by French annexation in the further vicissitudes of European politics. The boundless material results following the dissolution of America's ties with Europe have been equally enjoyed by all European nations, and to-day the mighty Hamburg enterprise, which derives its name from the country to

which its operations are mainly directed, is absolutely the largest shipping concern on earth; nor is it without reason that the largest steamship ever built in Germany (owned by another great German firm) bears the proud name of George Washington. England, too, has not failed to benefit much more than she possibly could have done by the maternal direction of America's development to her own Imperial purposes. The wherewithal to clothe and feed John Brown of Essex is to-day provided more by the United States than by any of his own colonies; the largest and fastest steamships that English craftsmen have ever built go to New York—not to Quebec—and no imaginable subsidy could bring them to any colonial port under his own flag.

How then has the common or garden variety of English Imperialist come to convince himself that Europe in general, and its premier State in particular, could derive no material advantage from an effective assertion of continental sea power, unless the German eagles were borne to the ends of the earth and the German fighting machine encompassed the globe? The future of the great colonial territories would involve international problems so serious that no nation could settle them in a purely selfish manner. In the case of Canada at least German invasion would be out of the question, and Canada is much nearer to Germany than Australia is. Since the capacity of the colonies for self-government would be indisputable, the simplest solution would be to elevate them to the same independent status as the United States, while debarring them from participating, directly or indirectly, in European politics. Tell it not in Birmingham, name it not in Downing Street, but should German Imperial policy merely aim at the severance or effective modification of those political ties which enable England to exclusively direct the destinies of the vast extra-European territories, that policy may be sympathised with, from a broad human standpoint, by

some who are not Germans. Heaven alone knows who told the gentlemen of London that the cosmopolitan and largely German United States would rush frantically to their aid in upholding monarchic government with its concomitant preferential tariffs in a region where the United States has, within recent times, fought one war with Spain and threatened another with France in order to remove such government from the American sphere.

Nor are these views based on any illusions as to the lofty ideals which may inspire German Imperialism. Anyone who has noted the vast material interests of Germany in Brazil—a country which in size and distance from Europe much resembles our own—where there are hundreds of thousands of German immigrants, where millions of pounds of German capital have been invested, and which has been converted from a thriftless land of “Manana” to a vigorous republic, whose capital, Rio de Janeiro, is one of the most imposing and best laid-out cities in the world, may be excused for imagining that an independent Australia would be just as materially advantageous to all concerned as a German-dependent Australia. Let the artificers of war once pulverise the fabric of English sea power to a monumental and artistic ruin, and the invasion of these remote parts would be but as the gilding of refined gold, “a wasteful and ridiculous excess”—an excess rendered further wasteful by the intricacies of the highly-specialised German military system, with its purely continental problems.

It is a pity that those who call so loudly on Australia to make sacrifices for the Empire cannot see the logical conclusion of the policy they so enthusiastically advocate. If the purpose of English Imperialism is to create a militant power, which will monopolise for the English race vast areas of the earth’s surface, closing those areas to European trade and commerce, commanding all ocean routes and shutting off European communication with countries

overseas, the destruction of that power will be a sufficiently profitable achievement without annexing a single yard of territory. It is true that pressure might be brought to bear upon the Australian colonies. Methods, similar to those adopted by Germany and England a few years ago in convincing Venezuela that she must recognise her obligations to European capital, might be adopted in order to convince Australia that she must not discriminate against Germany in any sphere; but if Australian policy were guarded by a little common sense and practical recognition of altered circumstances foreign interference would be quite unlikely.

One of the greatest books written on the question of a probable European conflict is that by a German writer, August Niemann, entitled "Der Welt-Krieg Deutsche Traume," translated under the title of "The Coming Conquest of England." The author depicts a coalition of Germany, France, and Russia—a coalition practically identical with that of the three leading European States which humiliated England during the American war—and in the imaginary division of spoil consequent upon the destruction of English power, it is remarkable from an Australian point of view that the name of Australia is not even mentioned. "The policy of the German Government," says the author, "will culminate in securing settled commercial and political relations with England and her colonies, and the rounding off of our own colonial possessions." The latter passage (as explained by the writer) refers only to Walfish Bay in German South Africa and the East African districts which were exchanged by Germany for Heligoland.

A similar view is expressed by Dr. Otto Arendt, a member of the Reichstag, whose opinions with those of other leading Germans are published in the "Nineteenth Century Review," of May, 1909. The interviewer writes:—"Referring to the idea of possible German designs upon the British colonies, Dr. Arendt

spoke of it as moonshine. . . . Germany could not dream of seizing either Australia or South Africa, to say nothing of Canada; as for such places as Nigeria, etc., they were not worth the taking."

The alarming visions of German eagles floating over the Australian horizon, which have been conjured up to frighten simple-minded Australians into forgetting their own national interests, subordinating their own defence, and making huge sacrifices to uphold an Imperial policy which is bound to provoke retaliation, vanish from our minds when we consider the real position of Germany in the world to-day, and we as responsible citizens may do much to avert a European conflict by directing our national policy on lines of equity and justice to all nations.

There are not wanting evidences of a determination on the part of the great European countries to make their voice heard and their influence felt in the settlement of the great colonial problem. With the voice of humanity they demand—and justly demand—that that problem shall not be settled in a manner solely in the interests of one particular race. However much other European States may have been guilty of the same brutal methods, which have won England her Empire, the growth of armaments so menacing to her does not arise from any mere motives of jealous hate, but from a sense of an unjust monopoly, from a determination that their merchantmen shall not pay toll on the high seas to a chain of English naval outposts, and that they shall have equal rights of trade and colonisation in all parts of the globe.

And let it not be supposed that the way to overcome the rivalry of those States is by uniting the Empire in one militant federation with hostile tariffs aimed at the exclusion of European trade, with chains of naval stations rendering European commerce an easy prey, and a gigantic fleet manoeuvring in European waters, with the avowed purpose of throttling European industrial life. Let it not be imagined that

a united Empire can do anything of the kind. Those Imperialists who believe so show a sublime disregard of facts and indifference to the resources of foreign countries worthy of the best English traditions. There are actually in all England's Empire to-day a considerably smaller number of white men than in Germany alone.

There were, in the year 1909, 55,000,000 white men in England's dominions, while the number of white men in other countries was as follows:—Continental Europe, 374,000,000; United States of America, 89,000,000; Central and South America (white population only), about 20,000,000; Siberia, 6,000,000; Algeria and Tunis, 800,000; giving a total of about 490,000,000, or nearly nine times the white population of England's Empire; while in Continental Europe alone there are nearly seven times as many white men as that Empire contains.

The most powerful league of Continental Europe, the Triple Alliance, contained in 1906 an aggregate population of 143,507,762, or two and a half times the white population of England's Empire. The countries constituting that alliance are really a geographical unit, whose political divisions are as artificial as those of Australia; and it is a most significant fact that the States constituting that league are almost without colonies. The colonies of Germany (the most favored of the three) are of little consequence; Italy only possesses the East African territories of Erythrea and Somaliland, with a total area of 185,500 square miles; and Austria-Hungary presents the unique spectacle of a great empire with the very considerable population of 49,425,000 and a highly efficient navy possessing no colonies whatever. The colonies of the three nations have a total area of 1,188,450 square miles, while the colonies of Holland, with a population of 6,000,000 (or one twenty-fourth of that of the three Powers), have an area of 782,000 square miles. Belgium, with 7,000,000 inhabitants, controls the Congo Free State,

with an area of 900,000 square miles; and decadent Portugal owns colonies with an area of 821,000 square miles.

This leads to a most important question. For the colonial possessions of Continental Europe, including Turkey in Asia and Siberia, comprise a total area approximately equal to that of England's dominions, so that if the European Powers work in concert, they may as a whole develop a territory resourceful enough to prevent the creation of an English monopoly, which they individually dread so much; but large and potential territories, held by weak Powers, are ever in danger of falling into the gaping maw of the old Red Wolf, and one of the serious purposes of Continental sea-power is not merely to protect the interests of great Powers, but to preserve the sovereign rights of weaker States. What influence but the naval power of Germany and France makes impossible the annexation of the Congo Free State and an "All-Red-Route" for the Cape to Cairo railway? What but the weakness of Continental navies made the infamous Boer War possible? What defeated Downing Street diplomacy, definitely settled the political status of the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and established the independence of the little Kingdom of Bulgaria, despite the opposition of the largest two Empires on earth? Was it not the influence of that terrible German navy? England's influence extends far beyond her flag, and we see in her opposition to the construction of the Bagdad railway how she claims as her own, territories beyond her sphere

It is not possible, and from the standpoint of common interests it would not be advantageous, for every great European Power to own large colonies; but it is possible for those Powers to command recognition of their rights in regard to every colonial territory on earth, to safeguard (subject to decent administration) the sovereign rights of weaker States,

while vastly influencing the destinies of, and commanding a wholesome respect from, the colonies of even the greatest colonial Power.

It might be supposed that an Empire of such vast resources would increase its powers at such a rate, as to soon surpass all possible rivals; but increase of power depends upon increase of population. The white population of England's Empire increases at the rate of 700,000 yearly, while that of Germany increases at the rate of 800,000 yearly. The United States receives a million and a half inhabitants every year by immigration alone, while the population of European Russia increases at the rate of a million and a half annually. When the newly-born democracy of Russia has attained more mature growth, Anglo-Saxon influence may find here its most serious rival. It is usual in these days to speak of the universal prevalence of the English language, but to this most numerous and prolific white race whose dominions constitute the greatest continuous mass of territory under one flag, English is only a language to swear in.

In calculating the resources of the Empire on which "the sun never sets" it is usual to boast that it is the most populous Empire on earth, ignoring the fact that most of that population consists of alien races; but the active desire for self-government displayed by the colored races in recent times renders them not a source of strength, but of probable danger—a danger further accentuated by the natural sympathy of the colored races outside of the Empire with what they must regard as the legitimate aspirations of their neighbors. European rule in India is only a passing circumstance, and Nature has marked such territory as the property of the native races. The strength of Empires is to be measured not by mere size or number of inhabitants, but by the number of physically fit and mentally equipped citizens.

Napoleon once said that all European nations, except Turkey, were really one; that a mountain here and a river there did not constitute any real boundary; that the great distinction between the European and non-European races was the non-recognition by the former of polygamy or slavery, and that his own wars were merely civil wars. In fact, Napoleon's real policy was to unite Europe, and prevent England obtaining a monopoly of sea power. That policy, in its modern scientific and diplomatic application, is now being steadily pursued by the great European state which stands to-day where once stood the France of Napoleon.

In the eyes of intelligent Europeans the importance to the human race of the development of vast colonial territories has always outweighed that of their own local and provincial squabbles. This opinion is ably expressed by that capable German, Dr. Carl Peters, in his book "*England and the English*," when he says: "Even an historian of Macaulay's genius understood the intricate connections in the general combination of things so little that he wrote: 'In order that he (Frederick the Great) might be able to rob a neighbor whom he had promised to defend, black men had to fight at the coast of Coromandel and red men on the shores of the North American Lakes.' That is a conception of the importance accorded to specifically European events as compared with those of more universal character which I cannot recognise. In point of fact, the very opposite is the case, i.e., the wars fought for the possession of the Coromandel coast and of the North American Lakes were not by any means inferior in importance to the Central European wars of the eighteenth century, but, on the contrary, the latter are only a diversion in the conquest of the world by the Anglo-Saxon race. The fate of nations, and of hundreds of millions of members of all races, is now much more intimately affected by the consequences directly arising out of those battles on the shores of the North American Lakes or on the Ganges than by

the direct effects of the battles of Fontenoy, Leuthen, and Austerlitz. As history proceeds we find that the great historic importance of those last-named battles assumes a better defined shape in proportion as their connection with those general civilisatory events in the work of populating the globe with white settlers becomes increasingly evidenced."

There is no reason why Australians should regard the enlightened races of Europe as their natural enemies, or imagine that the sole inspiring motive of their naval policy is a desire to annex some portion of Australia. The progress of such countries at least will force intelligent colonials to make such efforts for the development of their country's resources as will make it independent of external protection. The European Powers are not inimical to Australia's progress, but may compel Australia to progress to a degree and in a direction not dreamt of by present-day Australian politicians. Let us then cease to regard those great nations as our mere foes, and as regards the great Asiatic nations, which are now showing a worthy activity in emulating western civilisation, let us not stand in mere horror-struck awe.

Let not Australians in their admirable enthusiasm for a "White Australia" despise the progress of the noble Japanese nation, with its lofty mission in Asia. If Japan can inculcate into the minds of her neighbors the teachings of western civilisation, she surely will have performed a task deserving of the highest thanks of humanity. Indeed, were it not for Japanese progress the broad Pacific Ocean, with the United States, Canada, and the weak South American republics on one side, and Australasia and the Phillipines on the other, might eventually become an Anglo-Saxon lake. Those clever people who helped Japan to destroy the maritime power of Russia may some day be made to witness the entertaining process of landing the skilled miner on another planet with the aid of his own gelignite, for Japan (whose shipyards have

recently completed four turbine-engined steamers of thirteen thousand tons) is even now a much more formidable rival of England in the Pacific than Russia could possibly have been. But there is ample ground for hoping that her policy will tend to industrial rivalry rather than aggressive militarism. Confronted with the striking progress of the native races of the Pacific, some of our own Imperialists who to-day proclaim that Australia is a continent for their own race, and that strangers are to be admitted only when we cannot get "our own flesh and blood," may be forced to realise that an exclusive policy applied to half of humanity is justifiable only by placing all European races on an equality of trade and colonisation and inviting them to come and help us to maintain the standard of European civilisation in this country.

It is idle to imagine that the handful of people now in Australia or the fifty-five million white men of the Empire are to be sole arbiters of the destinies of a continent capable of carrying a population larger than that which the whole Empire now carries. As a native-born Australian I at least will never regard the great European nations with animosity, but will see in their progress a force which may compel Australians to waken more thoroughly to the vast possibilities of their country, and inspire them to adopt loftier and more universal ideals. Were I appealing solely to the finer feelings of the handful of people who are to-day convinced that Australia is absolutely their own; were I appealing merely to the humane sentiments of those who during the Boer war were transported to such paroxysms of intolerant fury, I might indeed be despondent; but when I turn from those local politicians who "think the rustic cackle of their burg the murmur of the world" to those Right Honorable and Learned Members of the International Opposition, who possess the power and apparent determination to preserve equality in the colonial regions, when I see the magnificent progress of their

enlightened countries, and view with emotions of pride and serene gratification the constructive and progressively expansive policy of my noble friend Alfred von Tirpitz (Honorable Member for Europe), I am encouraged to believe that should justice be banished from the councils of this nation, and the voice of reason and humanity be drowned in the strident clamor of passion and prejudice, there will yet remain one practical method of convincing the honorable gentlemen of the Party in Power that the fifth continent was not designated by ukase of the Omnipotent Autocrat as the exclusive property of any particular race, and that the true development of this vast Commonwealth demands a more comprehensive view of the rights of man.

Honorable Members of the International Opposition, citizens of a Universal Fatherland, I could despise you as slaves, I could denounce you as tools of tyrants, and in the extreme language of revolutionary socialism I could curse you as the most besotted dupes of greedy capital, but I do not find it in my heart to do any such thing. Why do you impose upon yourselves the cruel burden of armaments; why do you fetter your national growth with chains of militarism? Is it merely because you are servile to those who seek selfish ends—minions of capital, forsooth; or does the obfuscated brain of your unlettered generation fail to grasp the sublime justice and everlasting immutability of a condition of things which permits one race (inferior in numbers and aggregate capacity to a single European people) to monopolise territories larger than all Europe? Is it not, in plain language, simply because the present system is not good enough, and you, like the men you are, are up against it? Wherefore, my friends, I appeal to the nobler side of your nature, by all means strive to reach a solution of the colonial problem on rational lines, further the development of your countries, leaving time and enlightenment to solve that problem in the natural

course of events, for you well know that we are all of one world, and that every wrong righted, every infamy abolished, and every step towards the complete emancipation of the masses of mankind promotes the welfare of our common country. But should you ever be placed in such a position that you are hemmed in by the militant power of an infamous monopoly which you must assail or perish, then, in that fateful hour, do not mimic the signal of one who in the vulgar sense was a patriot—substituting for the name of his country the name of some other paltry State—but make ready a clear statement of a universal Cause, and rest assured that your conflict will only assume lasting importance in so far as it promotes that cause.

Honorable Members of the Ironclad Opposition, I beg to move that the following planks be inserted in the Fighting Platform:—(1) Land for the people and people for the land. (2) The colonies of the earth for the colonists of the earth. (3) The markets of the world for the industry of the world. (4) No upsetting of the European balance by the exploitation of territories outside of Europe. (5) No throttling of European trade with countries remote from Europe. (6) International control of ocean highways. (7) Equal proprietorship of young and growing nations. (8) Equal recognition of international rights by such nations. (9) The soil to the tillers thereof, and the fruits of the earth to the nations thereof.

THE HIGHER IMPERIALISM.

THE word Imperialism is commonly supposed to convey the idea of something of surpassing political grandeur, something immeasurably transcending local interests—an ideal of universal scope and world-embracing aspect; yet in a sense this word itself is provincial, for as there is a higher patriotism than to the mere clod of earth a man happens to be born upon there is also a higher Imperialism than that of the race to which he belongs. There is a patriotism which confines itself merely to the affairs of our own nation, and there is a higher patriotism whose domain is not bounded by any artificial demarcations, whose interests are the supreme interests of the human race, and whose country is the infinite cosmos of which each of us is materially and intellectually a part.

The people of a young country naturally possess a tendency to glorify the past achievements of the race from which they have sprung, to speak reverently of their ancestral home, and to display in all political affairs the sentiments of political childhood rather than of nationhood, but the parent country itself cherishes no such veneration of the origin of its greatness, and no enthusiastic esteem for the nations which have influenced its early career. If such sentiments could be traced back to their true origin after long and studious research we might find ourselves proudly acknowledging as our ancestors—the venerated progenitors of our species—some hairy troglodytes of a remote geological epoch or simian creatures dangling their caudal appendages from the foliage of primeval forests, or pursued by pristine monsters amid the arboreal gloom of their native fastnesses, and jabbering the rudiments of the language

of Shakespeare; but for practical purposes we prefer to hark back one generation, and commemorate the anniversaries of legendary and long-defunct saints—George, Patrick, and Andrew—with greater enthusiasm than our own national day.

In the development of human civilisation various races have played, and continue to play, an important part, and so close has been the inter-relationship existing between them that while aiming at its own highest development every enlightened nation must recognise the co-ordinating work of others and its indebtedness to them. Australia then, as a young nation needful of the co-operation and support of civilised countries, should learn to regard herself not merely as part of the smaller Empire to which she politically belongs, but of the larger Empire, which embraces the whole world, and should shape her policy not according to narrower ideals, but with a view to the ultimate union of the whole human race. It cannot be claimed for any modern State that it is the paragon of progress, the acme of civilisation, for there are several great nations which possess a common standard of political development. In the course of the world's progress there have arisen several powerful and progressive nations, and the tendency has been to develop several distinct and diversified nationalities rather than a few extensive empires, and the onus of civilisatory work now rests, not upon one nation, but upon several. Those who claim pre-eminence for this Empire in particular may with due modesty recollect that among the white nations of the world it occupies a humble fourth place; nor can its ruling race claim superiority in any branch of science, culture, or education over some of their chief rivals. The civilisation of Europe (of which that of America and Australia is an offshoot) has been developed by the competition of nations, and brought to its present high level by their mutual action and reaction upon one another.

European social progress practically began with the old Roman Empire, which once comprised all the territory now occupied by the States of Western Europe. The Roman Empire, like every great State, starting from a very small beginning, gradually spread far and wide, extending its dominion over all those countries bordering upon the Mediterranean, attaining a higher degree of civilisation and military organization than any other State of antiquity, and carrying its own civilisation, literature, and learning to all the lands that were conquered. With the fall of the Roman Empire began the career of the States of Western Europe, and of these three (France, Germany, and England) stand forth conspicuously, and each at different periods has been deeply indebted to the others.

To England the world owes in a great measure the steady development of Parliamentary institutions; but the indebtedness of England to Continental Europe is by no means less than the indebtedness of Europe to England. To the German people that great movement which lifted the nations out of the darkness of the Middle Ages, shattered ecclesiastical tyranny, destroyed the dominant power of clericalism, emancipated reason, and established conscientious liberty throughout Europe, owed its inception; nor can the moral and material advantages accruing to England from that intellectual emancipation be exaggerated. Indeed, that illustrious nation owes quite as much of its Imperial power and prestige to the reforming movement, initiated by the preachings of a humble German monk, as to any of its conquering soldiers and sailors. In France the downfall of monarchic power and class privileges, with all their multifarious and clamant evils, was consummated by a great revolution, which not only annihilated the power of the rotten old French monarchy but shook every throne in Europe, and made the tyrants of the world tremble. In that great uprising of the masses

—unparalleled in history—against old-established abuses, traditions, and a host of deep-rooted evils, the spirit of modern democracy sprang into being, and was carried by the armies of the new-born republic to the remotest corners of Europe.

In the march of discovery, which began before these social upheavals had transformed Europe, the way was led by Spain and Portugal, whose geographical position favored maritime enterprise. Portuguese navigators were the first to double the Cape of Good Hope, Vasco da Gama opened the way to India, and the Spanish vessels of the Portuguese commander Magalhaes were the first to circumnavigate the globe, practically demonstrating what previously had been only theoretically surmised—the spherical form of the earth. The discoveries of that greatest of all navigators, Christopher Columbus, not only opened up the New World and led the march of civilisation westward, but marked out the path of exploration which led to the discovery and colonisation of Australia; for as the railway follows the path of pioneering settlement, these latter events were the natural consequence of the voyages of Columbus and the Spanish and Portuguese navigators. The discovery of the New World (that event of immeasurable importance to European civilisation) was not due to mere chance, but was the practical demonstration of a heterodox theory boldly conceived and daringly executed. When Columbus propounded his novel idea that by sailing west he might reach the east he was ridiculed by the wise men of his time, and we read that a learned theologian indignantly demanded if anyone could be so foolish as to believe that there were antipodes, where men walked on their heads, where trees grew downwards and stones and sticks fell upwards. Such was the opinion of learned man—a most learned and impartial man. Yet, scorning such counsels of wisdom, Columbus sailed forth into the unknown, and with him sailed the destiny of nations.

Boldly relying upon his own intelligence and energies, and defying the prejudice of an ignorant world, the intrepid and reasoning navigator, with his three little caravels and their mutinous and trembling crews, steered onward. Before him lay the vast undeveloped regions of the New World, and behind him the civilisation of the Old. Westward that great continent the future home of republics, whose all-embracing cosmopolitanism would welcome millions of men from the lands of the Old World, and eastwards the struggling nations, slowly and painfully toiling upwards. His achievement was an achievement of civilisation—a triumph in which the world was to participate. Yet we read that, after his death, the sovereigns of Castile and Leon erected to his memory a monument, inscribed with words that showed that those rulers were not more broadminded than the statesmen of the present day, for the legend ran—

“A Castilla y a Leon
Nuevo Mundo dio Colon.”

(To Castile and Leon Columbus gave the New World.)

Ah! rulers of Castile and Leon, could you have but realised the destiny of that glorious New World you would have deemed that but a paltry compliment to the Great Admiral. Long ago the glory of Castile and Leon has faded into oblivion, and the political connection of those kingdoms with the lands of the West has long ceased. Two vast republics, each approximating in area the European continent, sixteen smaller ones, a vast dominion, and the minor dependencies of European Powers now occupy the American continent, but still the name of the great European seaman, who sailed not under the flag of his native land, but bore the banner of western civilisation to unknown regions, and who gave the New World, not to Castile and Leon, but to the human race, is honored by millions of men who recognise in him one of humanity's greatest benefactors.

In the exploration of Australia itself nations other than England have played a prominent part. Tasmania rightly honors the name of a Dutch navigator; Torres Straits is named after a Spaniard, and Australia once bore the name of New Holland. The ships of France and Holland have at different periods visited these shores on voyages of discovery. Look on the map of the Commonwealth, trace the names of Continental European origin along its coast line, from D'Entrecasteaux Channel to Cape Leeuwin, Cape Voltaire, and the Gulf of Carpentaria, remember the work of universal exploration, extending even to the shores of your own country, accomplished by those great European races which have contributed so nobly to the world's civilisation, and you will not say that those men are aliens, to be welcomed here only by special courtesy, to be graciously extended on your part and obsequiously accepted on theirs.

The aim of the prevalent Imperialism seems to be to confine public attention almost exclusively to those countries with which Australia is politically associated, and to enlarge upon the importance of England as a world-ruling Power. It seems to be quite an article of common faith in this Empire that God created the world in six days and on the seventh resigned in favor of John Bull. Well may we ask with the poet—

“Hath Britain all the sun that shines?
Day, night, are they not but in Britain?”

Under the present news system all press news comes here from London, and is of course distorted to suit the antiquated notions of those who transmit it, so that Australians are taught to view European countries with the insular and ancient prejudices of the old land. Why should not Australians have a truly Australian news system, with agencies in every capital of the world communicating directly with Australia? Why should they not see the great nations of the

world as their own people see them—not as their avowed enemies misrepresent them—and by mutual intercourse and clearer understanding come to look upon their progress not as that of relentless foes or jealous rivals, but of nations with the same hopes and aspirations, the same social problems and political ideals as themselves? The Imperial cable system is designed to connect Australia, not with the world, but with London. Australians may well consider the advisability of laying cables which would connect Australia with Europe by routes which would be in no way subject to English influence. By carrying a cable from the Western Australian coast to a point on the Persian coast, or establishing wireless telegraphic communication with that country, Australia would at once be brought into direct communication with Continental Europe. The telegraph line from London to Teheran has the longest circuit in the world. It has four thousand miles of wire, and automatic repeating apparatus takes the place of the operator at each of fourteen relay stations, the principal of which are Emdem, Berlin, Warsaw, Odessa, and Tiflis. Connection with this line would establish, against the "All Red Route" of the Pacific, an "All White Route" connecting Australia with the great States of Western Europe, and entirely traversing constitutionally-governed countries over whose political affairs England can exercise no control. Cable or wireless telegraphic communication might also be established via the East Indies with French Cochin-China, linking Australia through the Chinese and Russian Empires with Western Europe. The most extraordinary feature of the present cable system, however, is that there is no direct telegraphic communication between Australia and the greatest of all English-speaking countries—the United States of America.

Australia's geographical position must compel her to come into closer contact with nations with which

she is not politically associated. The future of Australia must be vastly influenced by the progress of countries bordering upon the Pacific Ocean, and in that ocean English territory, outside of the Commonwealth and New Zealand, is remarkably scarce, consisting mainly of a few insular groups and a province in the remotest corner of that great ocean. It is a fact proudly acknowledged by all Englishmen that one-fourth of the world belongs to England; but it is also a fact, worthy of at least passing notice, that three-fourths of the world does not belong to England. On the Pacific shores of the great American continent, stretching almost from Pole to Pole, there are only a few hundred miles of coast line subject to England, and south of Puget Sound, on a coast line extending thousands of miles, there is not a single lone rock or sand hill which sports the Union Jack. On the western side of the Pacific we find the great and resourceful land of Siberia being rapidly developed by a white race; the prosperous and enlightened Empire of Japan; China, with its four hundred million people and unbounded natural resources, now beginning to be developed; French Cochin-China; the Phillipines, Siam, and the rich and fertile East Indies. It is not by the development of such places as Fiji, Sarawak, or even British Columbia, that the future of the Pacific Ocean will be determined and the destiny of Australia influenced. In the Indian Ocean, it is true, there are important English territories; but India, the most important of them all, is a land of alien races, and there are in the Indian Ocean such important foreign territories as Persia, the Turkish Empire, German East Africa, with its hinterland the Congo Free State, and Madagascar.

It seems to be part of Imperial policy to divert the trade and commerce of the Commonwealth from its natural channels and patronise circuitous Imperial routes in preference to direct geographical ones. Lately a movement has been initiated in connection

with what is called the "All Red Route." Clearly the most convenient route for east-bound passengers and mails is that via San Francisco to New York, from whence the finest steamships in the world are available. But Imperial policy seeks to divert them to the more circuitous route via Vancouver, and bolster up by artificial means a steamship service from Canadian ports to England. Australia is closer to Southern European ports, Odessa, Trieste, Brindisi, Naples, Genoa, Marseilles, and Barcelona than to London. Mails are now despatched across the European continent, and it lies entirely with France to shorten the sea route from Australia to London by building a canal from the Bay of Biscay to the Mediterranean. Should such a canal ever be opened Gibraltar will be superseded. But even now the passage through the Mediterranean lies past the doors of great and growing naval Powers (Austria, Italy, and France), the powerful naval fortresses of the latter, on both sides of the Mediterranean, minimising the strategic value of Malta; while on the Atlantic the French seaports of Dakar and Brest command the ocean route to England.

While the Australian press is discussing the establishment of an "All Red Route," the engineers of the great American republic are steadily cleaving a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the consequences of the opening of that canal, which will be in nowise subject to English influence, may surpass the wildest conjectures. When the Panama Canal is opened Sydney will be nearer to New York than to London, the distances being—Southampton to Sydney, via Suez 11,500 miles, via the Cape 12,400 miles, via Panama 11,700 miles; New York to Sydney, via Suez 13,500 miles, via the Cape 13,100 miles, via Panama 9,100 miles.

At present the most expeditious (if properly utilised) route from Australia to Europe is not via Imperial ports, but via the trans-Siberian railway,

which is now being duplicated and vastly improved. The ocean shipping of Russia is not as yet important, but the natural expansion of Russian industries and merchant shipping is bound to bring her into closer contact with Australia, which when the projected railway to Port Darwin is opened will be a very near neighbor. The quickest possible route from Australia to Europe would be by means of a railway running along southern Asia from Constantinople to Singapore. That railway would traverse Asia Minor, Persia, India, Burma, and the Malay Peninsula, and would necessarily traverse some rich countries not subject to English influence.

Look in whatever direction we will we find that we are obliged to consider the development of countries in nowise connected with this Empire, and the progress of those countries should be looked upon with admiration rather than apprehension. The great Asiatic countries, which are Australia's nearest neighbors, contain hundreds of millions of men, and though their social condition is now very backward their future possibilities are almost unbounded. Australians are accustomed to look upon the awakening of the great Oriental nations with awe, but let it not be forgotten that the moulding of the great Russian Empire inspired the same feelings in Western Europe, and moved the poet Campbell to write—

“ But time will teach the Russ, ev'n conquering War
Has handmaid arts; ay, ay, the Russ will woo
All sciences that speed Bellona's car,
All murder's tactic arts, and win them too;
But never holier Muses shall imbue
His breast, that's made of nature's basest clay;
The sabre, knout, and dungeon's vapor blue
His laws and ethics; far from him away
Are all the lovely Nine, that breathe but Freedom's
day.”

What dismal and gloomy forebodings of the future of that great and noble nation, which has covered a continent with railways and canals, which has produced an artist like Verastchagin, a poet like Pushkin, and a philosopher like Tolstoi, and whose leading musical conservatoires are among the finest in the world—that wonderful land of the Hyperborean Scythia, as Merejowski calls it, whose artificers have erected amid the soft shades of the boreal White Night one of the most magnificent capitals on earth. May we not learn to look to the future of China as hopefully as we now look to the future of the great Slav nation? Whatever protective measures we may be compelled to adopt against the Asiatic races those men are our brothers. They have indeed proved it in terrible fashion. The dengue fever, which recurs periodically in Northern Australia, and the terrible bubonic fever, which occasionally visits our coastal cities, have been imported from Asia, and our coastal municipalities have perforce become more liberal purchasers of the toothsome rodent than the epicures of old Pekin or Changsha. Those great countries, teeming with millions of men existing under conditions of appalling wretchedness, are to civilisation what its slums are to a great city. Until its slums are cleansed and poverty and disease banished no city can boast of its purity, and until the light of civilisation illumines the remotest parts of the great Asiatic Empires their neighbors can enjoy no true peace, and the world will be lacking in happiness and wholesomeness.

In every department of science, in every branch of human knowledge, we are indebted to the labors and discoveries of men of other nations, and to-day thinking men in all lands are working together, irrespective of race or nationality, for the betterment of our common world. The highest patriotism and the keenest interest in the welfare of our own country is not incompatible with a sympathetic view of the progress of other nations, and we should strive, while

developing the resources of our own country, to cultivate intimate and friendly relations with all others—even those with which we have no political or racial ties—thus preparing Australia to take her place equally with the greatest of them, and to share the work of universal advancement. If their views are to be commensurate with the potentialities of their country Australians cannot rightfully regard Australia as a province of any Empire less than the Empire of the World. The fifth continent is not a province of an empire; it is an empire in itself. And its people, if they are to achieve that lofty destiny which is predicted for them, must consider the common good of all mankind, ever looking hopefully forward to the consummation of all human effort in that day when we will hear with the poet the voice which resounded among the starry spheres crying—

“ For evermore, for evermore,
The reign of violence is o'er,”

and witness “ the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World.”

A WHITE AUSTRALIA.

A QUESTION of vital national importance, and one on which Australians have displayed the greatest independence of thought, is that expressed in the popular phrase a "White Australia," signifying the preservation of Australia for the European race, and as a logical consequence the filling up of Australia with sturdy white settlers. This question is really no more than an Australian aspect of the land question—that question of paramount importance, which is the basis of all social problems; the question which in thickly-populated European countries presents itself in the form of a demand for land for the people and in Australia people for the land.

On this question at least the majority of Australians have displayed a creditable independence of judgment, nor does Australian opinion seem to be in the least influenced by the objections of those who on all other matters are regarded as infallible Imperial advisers. Now and again we are reminded that Australia's attitude on this question is shockingly anti-Imperial, and that an Empire the vast majority of whose citizens are colored cannot regard with equanimity the practical exclusion of a large number of its subjects from an important section of its territory. But to the Australian that is not an argument against the "White Australia" policy; it is simply a warning that considerations of Imperial policy must not induce him to imperil his national well-being. When the Australian reads that the "Plumstead Cuspidor" or the London "Daily Sluice" conveys, through its editorial columns, a grave warning against Australia's persistence in this wicked policy, or a suggestion that the tropical areas of the north might be advantageously

filled with industrious and servile Orientals, he is not in the least influenced thereby. But if the London newspapers were sincerely anxious to promote harmony they would be wary of publishing denunciations of Australia's national policy, for to condemn a policy any departure from which would involve the degradation of national life, the contamination of public morals, and the abandonment of all the social ideals which an enlightened race holds dear, is not the way to increase respect for the authors of such condemnation or the Empire in whose cause they profess to speak. In Australia itself this policy is so universally recognised that it has come to be regarded by all political parties as a fixed national principle. The great sugar industry, which it was woefully predicted would be ruined by the abolition of black labor, has since the deportation of the kanaka become a truly national industry of great magnitude; an industry which, during the cane-cutting season each year, attracts to North Queensland hundreds of men from Brisbane, Sydney, and even Melbourne, providing them with honest employment in an environment more wholesome (morally and physically) than the overcrowded parts of those cities.

No Australian politician would venture to come before the electors to-day openly advocating the introduction of colored aliens or the carrying on of any industry by means of cheap labor. Nothing could more clearly denote the unanimity of public opinion on this subject than the attitude of the politicians of the Conservative party, which once championed the cause of black labor. To-day those politicians are emphasising the necessity of advertising the attractions and extolling the resources of Northern Australia, with a view to encouraging a plentiful stream of white immigration to fill up the vacant spaces of the north (the potential wealth of which is just beginning to be realised), yet a few years ago they were loudly proclaiming that those vacant spaces were unfit for any white man to live and work in.

The objections to the presence of colored aliens in an enlightened European community arise from motives far deeper than those ascribed to the Australian people by superficial observers or globe-trotting scribes. The Australian workingman does not imagine himself to be possessed of any inherent virtue in the hue of his own hide, but he does clearly recognise that the presence of persons by tradition unfitted to take part in responsible government, by custom adapted to servile labor, and by nature marked as distinct from the white race, is a danger to national life. There is a social objection to aliens who have nothing in common with the white man in religion, literature, or tradition; there is a moral objection to men whose ways are depraved, who are naturally disposed to create filthy surroundings and who introduce the worst vices of the Orient; there is a political objection to men who are not qualified to vote on equal terms with the best citizens of a self-governing community; there is an economic objection to men who, through centuries of Oriental barbarism, have become mere beasts of burden, without ambition to better themselves, and able to exist under conditions which no white man could tolerate; and there is a natural objection to men who are so distinct from the European stock that inter-marriage with them is unthinkable, who therefore cannot be assimilated by a white community, and must create a separate and distinct racial element.

As all great social problems are international in their aspect, this question is international and historic, and its development may be traced by Europeans unfamiliar with purely Australian conditions through the long vicissitudes of their own history. The conflict between the colored and white races is as old as history itself. Far back in remote ages the small Greek community, which gave birth to the arts and literature of Europe, was menaced by a mighty host of Persian invaders, and on the plains of Marathon the question

of a "White Europe" was debated. Again, in the wars of Rome and Carthage, waged with relentless fury and closed with a scene of appalling destruction, we see the same fierce struggle. In later ages Europe was menaced by a great Oriental horde, when, fired with religious fanaticism emboldened by conquest and inspired with a determination to sweep from the face of the earth all vestiges of Christian civilisation, the Mohammedan races poured down upon Europe; when in a war of centuries Spain was overrun and Constantinople fell, and the invaders continued their onward march, till checked in Southern France by the followers of Charles Martel, and driven back from the walls of Vienna by the gallant soldiers of Poland. During the many centuries in which Russia fought her Eastern foes the same struggle went on. The little Russian community, at first acting defensively, slowly gathered strength and cohesion, and eventually, having driven back the invaders, and reached the far-off shores of the Pacific, compelled the native races of Asia to take up arms in defence of their own territory.

Clearly a continent of Australia's size, with its different zones and climatic variations, can contain a large and diversified population, and if it is necessary for the social well-being of Australia to adopt an exclusive policy towards some races, it is desirable to make Australian policy as liberal as possible in dealing with European races. At least the European races should be dealt with on their respective merits. In size Australia is little inferior to Europe itself, and its climate is equally varied. If, therefore, Australia is to be reserved permanently for the white man there ought to be no distinction between one white race and another. Our motto should be not merely "Australia for the Australians," but Australians for Australia—a continental policy for a continental Commonwealth, and the people of a continent to people a continent.

The southern and more temperate parts of Australia should be more suitable to immigrants from Northern Europe, who could there cultivate products similar to those raised in their native countries; while the northern and warmer parts would be better suited to Southern Europeans, who are naturally adapted to the conditions of a warm climate. In tropical Australia the climate is of course much warmer than in any part of Europe, but in other colonial territories where similar climatic conditions exist Southern Europeans are very conspicuous. Thus in the remarkably prosperous colony of Algiers (which is regarded as an integral part of France) Southern Europeans (other than Frenchmen) comprise a very large proportion of the white population, and immigrants from the southern departments of France are said to be more successful than those from the northern. There is also a large stream of Southern European emigration to South America.

That there is room for all European races in Australia is clearly demonstrated by the estimate of Australia's carrying capacity given by Dr. H. I. Jensen in his book "*The Rising Tide*," as follows:—
" We have 1,332,700,000 acres fitted for close settlement, and 550,000,000 which, by the aid of artesian wells, may become utilised for date-growing, camel-breeding, and perhaps for other purposes. The arable land is for the most part of such a quality that 100 acres suffice to keep a man and his family, but if we assume that only one-half, or 666,350 acres, are sufficiently good to keep one family per 100 acres, and the rest good enough to keep one family to the 1000 acres, we find that the arable land of Australia is capable of supporting 7,329,850 agriculturists and small pastoralists, each having probably an average family of five. Therefore, the land, exclusive of desert areas, can support in prosperity a population of 36,649,250. With improved methods of agriculture such as exist in the small and comparatively poor

country of Denmark, it will become possible for 10 acres of good and 100 acres of very poor land to maintain a family. When that time comes the arable lands of Australia should be able to carry a population of 366,492,500. Assuming that we continue to be a mineral-producing nation, and that we also manufacture all that we may need and a little over, the country will in addition be able to support in comparative prosperity twice as many people engaged in mining, distributing, manufacturing, and in the civil service as are actually engaged on the land. This means a population of 100,000,000 adopting the lower figure based on the present method of tilling the land, and 1,000,000,000 adopting the higher figure based on scientific methods."

From this it will be seen that the limit of Australia's capacity far exceeds the present capacity of the whole Empire, and to the Australian mind the importance of this national problem should outweigh all present questions of Imperial policy

The example of the United States clearly demonstrates that all European races may blend harmoniously in a new country. The United States is undoubtedly the most prosperous and energetic nation on earth, and what is the basis of its prosperity? It is usual with those English newspapers which persistently misrepresent everything to suit their own interests to describe the United States as an Anglo-Saxon country, to ignore its true racial composition, and to write of "our American cousins" as if England had an exclusive claim to the American people. But that is the most pestiferous offence against truth which ever polluted the atmosphere of this planet, for if the American Commonwealth were deprived of the vital force and mental capacity of other races, the Anglo-Saxon element would be powerless to prevent the national vehicle from whizzing violently down the fast motor-track to burning Sheol. When the wedding feast of the young bride of the West was prepared

America sent out into the highways and byways of Europe, and invited all good men of the Old World to come and rejoice. Numerous and varied were the tribes of men who responded, and the good old English gentleman of Virginia and the stern Puritan of New England, who, in Shakesperian phrase, "sang psalms to hornpipes," must have stood aghast at the motley clements which disturbed Europe sent to leaven the new nation and teach young America to whistle "Yankee Doodle" in forty different languages—the German Socialist, and the French Communist, the Austrian agitator, and the Polish bomb-slinger, the evicted agrarian from the Land of the Midnight Gun, the Italian innovator with a barrel organ, the Spanish bandit who saluted passing monarchy with presented arms, the Greek pirate whose private enterprise was ruined by Government interference in the Egean Sea, the Hungarian Jew who could discern a dime-piece in forty fathoms of sea water, and the Don Cossack who was a pillar of social order—all these, and many others, came to build up the American Republic; and if there were some by chance little desirable to a new country, there were many others who inspired high ideals of independence and created but scant regard for the hide-bound traditions of the Old World they had so cheerfully abandoned.

There is too much of a tendency in Australia to look to the United Kingdom as the only source of immigration. There is room here for all of the best that the United Kingdom (which contains but a small proportion of the white population of the world) can send, but there is also room for a great deal more. The emigrant from that Kingdom has his choice of all the great colonies of the Empire, nor does he by any means show any disposition to migrate to his own colonies only. During 1907 seventy-eight thousand (a number exceeding the total number of immigrants received by Australia in the same year) emigrants from England, Scotland, and Wales went to the United

States, and South America is also not without its attractions. In Canada the volume of non-English immigration already exceeds that from Britain. According to a press message published on September 30, 1909, the number of immigrants who arrived in Canada during the previous fiscal year was 146,908, including 59,832 from the United States and 52,901 from Britain. Thus it will be seen that the proportion of non-English to English immigrants during that period was over two to one, and Canada, be it remembered, is a country which (unlike Australia) already possesses a very considerable non-English element. Indeed, it is only immigration which prevents the prolific French element from predominating.

But it might be said that the mingling of many races of different origin in a new country would create a certain amount of friction; that those races might not fraternise, and that racial discord of some sort might be engendered. The experience of the United States does not point to such a conclusion. We find there that all European races are willing to live and work together happily; that they have evolved quite a distinct race (the unexcelled American), and so far from racial strife being manifested there is in America a social equality and broad toleration which Europe, and Australia too, may envy.

But it must not be supposed that intelligent immigrants, conscious of the ideals of other communities, would calmly acquiesce in the existing order of things, for the truth is that Australian politics are to-day entirely dominated by sentimental and racial feelings, which the influx of those who, by the very act of emigration sever all political ties with the Old World, would tend to dissolve, not because they would import prejudices of their own, but simply because they would not inherit the passions, prejudices, and racial feelings which are now so prevalent. A very distinct race-consciousness to-day pervades every department of Australian public life, and manifests

itself in ways unpleasant to those who worship not the gods of tribe, who treasure not the wampum and look not to the wigwam of the Grand Sachem, nor allow their blood to be fired by the traditional war whoop. That a cosmopolitan Australia would go into hysterics over the rivalry of European armaments or be stirred by the vilest jingo twaddle of the London stage is very improbable; but we will never reach the high ideals of universal toleration and racial equality prevailing in the United States till we have reached some such degree of independent self-reliance.

Between Australia, almost exclusively English in race, ideals, and prejudices, with its admission of hopeless inability to think or act independently, and the United States, cosmopolitan of origin and character, with its glorious spirit of toleration and magnificent independence, which led Artemus Ward to proclaim that the earth revolved on its axle-tree subject only to the Constitution of the United States, the gulf is wide and dismal; and that reflex of London opinion, commonly styled the Australian press, does well indeed to misrepresent "our American cousins" by every artifice in its power. Yet in the natural course of events Australian ideals will be broadened; mixed immigration and the steady increase of population will gradually and without friction create a condition of things entirely different to that now prevalent, and Australia will attain to a higher nationhood than that aspired to by present-day politicians, for the Australian of the future will be vastly different from the Australian of to-day, and posterity will not be bound by the sentiments and prejudices of this generation. Climatic conditions, immigration, and the progress of other countries ever coming into closer contact with Australia all justify the prediction that some day an Englishman will resemble an Australian much as a drosky-driver from Kremenchug resembles the president of an American railroad.

National thought and character will thus be so stimulated on independent lines that at no very distant date Australians will begin to realise that external matters are quite inferior in importance to the development of their own resources, and that racial feuds arising from the shifting of the balance of European power are really of no importance at all. Thus, some fine morning before breakfast, having read in our local newspapers (whose news would come hot from the scene of action) that a European host had obscured the the city of London in sulphurous smoke and obliterated all traces of that ancient landmark with a double-furrow plough, while amid the ashes of the Bank of England a regiment of whiskered Uhlans had "carous'd potations pottle-deep," we would be moved to remark: "Ah! the poor English," and hastening to catch the tram or suburban train we would perform our daily avocations with the same zest, after which we would contribute to a fund for the relief of the sufferers by this latest catastrophe from the same humanitarian motives which impelled us to aid the sufferers by the Messina earthquake. But the idea that Australia's future would in any degree be influenced by this disaster, or that Australia should pledge her resources to retrieve it, would be remote indeed from the mind of the most sympathetic Australian.

The many races of Europe present a variety of characteristics, some of which would be very useful in the building up of a new and virile race, and would help to improve Australian character. Those who are proudly conscious of the pre-eminence of the English race in many branches of civilisation are aware that in all that appertains to substantial government based upon democratic institutions, equal education, and the fair administration of just laws, that race is noteworthy, and the highest compliment that can be paid to its civilisation is that, in the United States, where the original colonists have been far outnumbered by immigrants of mixed origin, the laws, language, and

institutions of Old England have so far answered the test of cosmopolitan republicanism that globe-trotting Englishmen are to-day able to return from the United States unconscious of its true racial composition. Yet those who look wider afield must admit that other nationalities are to be taken into consideration in the scheme of human civilisation. The toilers of the northern isle are not the only insects on the coral reef, neither is the English bulldog the only piece of meat in the universal sausage. The superiority of Continental nations (especially Germany) in matters relating to military organization is universally admitted, so much so that when Japan came to model her army on European lines she obtained French and German officers—though her navy was modelled on that of England—and to-day the uniforms of the Japanese army show signs of this mixed origin. Nor is this capacity for thorough organization by any means confined to merely military matters, as a glance at the educational system, State railways, and municipal enterprise of Germany will show. The French nation undoubtedly possesses a quickness of initiative, and many great inventions neglected or ignored in England owe their successful adoption to France. It was not until the submarine was fully tested and its value proved in the French navy that England (notwithstanding her vital interest in sea power) adopted it. France was also the pioneer of the motor-car, and her aerial navigators were among the first in the field. Reference to aviation emphasises more clearly the backwardness of England as compared with other nations in some branches of science. How does England stand at the present day with regard to aerial navigation; what does the wonderful science owe to her? Little or nothing. France, Germany, and America, working side by side, have opened up new fields, but England is only now beginning to follow. The names of Wright Brothers, of America, and Zeppelin, of Germany, are universally known, and it is in keeping with the general progress of this science that a French-

man was the first to fly across the English Channel. Commenting on this latter performance, Mr. H. G. Wells drew the doleful moral "that the world will not wait for the English." No, indeed! The world will not wait for or pay homage to any race however clever, and the most progressive nation of the future will be the one which is readiest to recognise its own relative unimportance, and amicably emulate and co-operate with its neighbors.

Turning then to the Southern European races, it must be acknowledged that while their capabilities have been somewhat neglected, they do possess a love of music and an artistic temperament displayed in unrivalled excellence by some of their illustrious masters which might be of no small advantage to a new nation.

In the rivalry of civilisation certain prejudices may have been developed, yet those races which have proved themselves the most formidable rivals will be useful to Australia; from the possession of those virile qualities which have enabled them to do so. The circumstances which have made them England's rivals need not prevent them becoming helpers in building up the Australian nation. Experience with the comparatively small Continental European element in Australia proves that such men become good colonists, and their children grow up to be everyday Australians. We find, too, that in the altered circumstances of colonial life those terrible fellows, whose battleships are by all accounts obscuring the North Sea with a pall of smoke as with the canopy of an inferno, prefer a home, a few cows, a little frau, and perhaps an occasional pint of Elberfeld lager on a little farm in Australia to all the loot of the city of London. The presence of such immigrants, so far from arousing prejudices, has removed misconceptions in the Australian mind concerning European nations, and helped to broaden the outlook of Australians. For instance, what would any intelligent Australian think if the London newspapers applied to those enlightened European

races with which he has been brought into contact the same outrageous falsehoods that were circulated about the Boers and Russians when those races came in conflict with English Imperial policy?

Nor is it to be supposed that while not subscribing to the infamous doctrine of "my country right or wrong," while seriously questioning whether their country was right or wrong, those people and their children would show any backwardness in defending their country in a just cause. The native-born Australian, whether he possesses any inherited esteem for any other country or not, must sometimes feel in regard to his own home as the old-time warrior who delivered his country from the Turks "with their infamous ways and works," felt on returning to his native city—

" His heart was merry within
When he crossed the river Drin
And saw in the gleam of the morn
The white castle Ak-hissar
The City Croia called,
The city moated and walled,
The city where he was born—
And above it the morning star."

While there is no legal restriction on the arrival of immigrants from any part of Europe, nor has any such restriction ever been suggested, there does appear to exist in Australia to-day a more or less marked prejudice against the Continental European, which manifests itself on different occasions. This question of a "White Australia" therefore involves, not merely a consideration of Australian policy towards those colored races, which with one ominous exception are politically powerless, but also to those more vigorous races, which while admittedly assimilable by the pioneering race of this country are sufficiently powerful to claim equality.

Towards the close of the year 1905 it was reported in Australia that President Roosevelt had granted an audience to Mr. O. C. Beale, of Sydney, President of

the Associated Chamber of Manufactures of Australia, and in the course of the audience the President sent the following message to Australia:—"Next to my own nation I am interested in the progress, success, and safety of your great democratic island-continent. Beware of keeping the far north empty. Encourage the immigration of southern Europeans. They will cultivate your rich country and become good Australians."

Referring to this message, Mr. Deakin, speaking in the House of Representatives on the 11th of December, 1905, said:—"I am sure that the people of the Commonwealth cordially reciprocate the sympathy shown by President Roosevelt in the statement that next to his own nation he is interested in the progress, success, and safety of this continent. Next to our own nation we place our kindred in America. I agree with him that we should populate the far north, and while preferring those of our nation for that purpose, am willing to look elsewhere if they are unable to accomplish the task."

It will be observed that while the Prime Minister was willing to welcome other races, the welcome was qualified by a preference for those of his own nation. His reply conveys the idea of a line of demarcation between English and non-English races, whereas President Roosevelt (himself of Continental Europe extraction), in sending such a message, must have been moved by a conviction of the necessity of welcoming the co-operation of other races in the task mentioned. Moreover, the references to "our own nation" and "our American kindred" in the same sentence are misleading, for in the narrower sense commonly implied in Australia the Americans are by no means our kindred.

In 1907 some controversy was raised in Queensland over the introduction of Spaniards to work in the northern canefields. It was naturally assumed that

those people of all European races were best adapted to replace the vanishing Pacific Islander, and the Commonwealth authorities were apparently convinced that a genuine shortage of labor existed. Referring to these Spaniards, Mr. Ryott-Maughan, a prominent member of the Labor Party, who once held the position of Chairman of Committees in the Queensland Legislative Assembly, speaking in the Assembly on the 15th of August, 1907, said:—"I object most strongly to the introduction of Spaniards into Queensland, not because I have anything to say against that remarkably fine race of people who once held omnipotent sway many hundreds of years ago, but it is a convenient and good thing, seeing that we are a British community, that we should do our level best to bring here our own flesh and blood when required. In saying that, I am not unmindful of the splendid work done in our agricultural districts by the Germans, Danes, and Scandinavians, and others of those enlightened people. When the proper time comes for a vigorous immigration policy, I do not see that we can do better than get people of our own race, and also Germans and Scandinavians."

That is a declaration which it is hard to reconcile with the high humanitarian ideals of the Labor Party. When that gentleman swears by the Labor Platform, which demands the nationalisation of all means of production, distribution, and exchange, one might be tempted to ask—Does he mean the monopolisation of all the resources of this continent for his own race and those most closely related to it? To argue that the Spaniards were ignorant, lazy, and dirty, and that centuries of servitude had made them unfit for citizenship of a free country, would be logical even though incorrect; but to declare that the Spaniards were a fine race, a remarkable fine race, so remarkably fine, indeed, that they once held omnipotent sway (and it might have been added led the march of discovery which culminated in the colonisation of Australia),

and yet that there was a strong objection to their introduction to Australia, is to proclaim a doctrine not likely to commend itself to the world at large.

Admitting the desirability of encouraging white people to settle in Australia, there is no reason for the adoption of an indiscriminate immigration policy. The first essential of a sound immigration policy is plenty of land readily available for settlement. It is obvious that when an immigrant is given the opportunity to engage in primary production, he immediately becomes an asset to the State, but when he merely swells the ranks of the unemployed, he makes the State so much the poorer. Under an intelligent settlement policy land would be at least as readily accessible to those now in Australia as to those who may be brought here. Such a policy would be more effective than any amount of advertising abroad. It is one thing to attract immigrants; it is quite another to make citizens. The best advertisement of any country is the success of those who migrate to it; he praises best who best can praise.

We have an instance of this in the unsolicited arrival of Siberian immigrants, who began to migrate hither in the latter part of 1909, attracted by the success of Russians who had preceded them. Would any Australian Government have dreamed of advertising in Siberia?

While there is a natural desire to attract the most enlightened races, it must be borne in mind that those nations which are the most progressive and prosperous supply the fewest emigrants. Germany and France no longer furnish any considerable number of emigrants, and most American immigrants now come from Southern and Eastern Europe. There may arise, therefore, a problem which has already assumed much importance in America—the problem of dealing with the untutored immigrant. The untutored immigrant is not always an undesirable immigrant; Jurgis, the Lithuanian hero of "The Jungle," was an unenlightened immi-

grant. He came from that land of oppression, Russia, with no more equipment than his strong arms. "I will work harder," he said, when confronted with each new vicissitude of fortune, and he did work hard—he worked until the very soul was ground out of him by an abominable system, and he became a criminal on the streets of Chicago. It was the system that made him a criminal, and a better system would have made him a useful citizen.

Since education is essential to the elector of a democratic community, it might be deemed advisable to make a further application of the education test, and extend the franchise only to those immigrants who, after some years' residence in Australia, had learned the English language. Yet there is no reason why the children of Continental European immigrants should neglect the language, literature, and science of other countries. They would be all the better citizens for the broader knowledge acquired by familiarising themselves with the life and thought of other nations. Children of any European race, given free education and fair opportunities, will readily qualify themselves for the highest duties of citizenship.

It has been repeatedly said of the Australian Labor Party that they are opposed to immigration; but the true policy of that party is well enough known to all who desire to seek the facts. That policy was never more clearly expressed than by Mr. Bowman, Leader of the Queensland Labor Party, in the Legislative Assembly on August 26, 1909, when speaking of a land tax he said:—"The Labor Party had a definite platform with £300 exemption, and he did not think the farming community had anything to fear from the Labor Party. They believed in the principle, and were going to the country to win seats or lose them fighting for land taxation proposals, because he believed it was one of the solutions for dear land. Bound up with the land question was the question of the unemployed and of immigration, and at the elections he intended to lay stress on the

immigration proposals of the Government. His party was not opposed to the opening of our doors to any white race, but had a decided objection to the people of Queensland paying £50,000 a year to get out immigrants and feed them at the State soup kitchen. In 1907 between £13,000 and £14,000 was spent on rations for poor relief in Queensland, and many of the immigrants were competing with the unemployed to-day. If the conditions were made attractive the people would come out of themselves. Certain men in Australia were particularly anxious to flood the country with surplus labor, in order to cheapen the rates of labor."

The consequences of uncontrolled immigration are graphically described by "Upton Sinclair" in that well-known book, "The Jungle," when describing labor conditions. He writes:—

"The new hands were here by the thousands. All day long the gates of the packing-houses were besieged by starving and penniless men; they came, literally by the thousands, every single morning fighting with each other for a chance for life. Blizzards and cold made no difference to them; they were always on hand. They were on hand two hours before the sun rose, an hour before the work began. Sometimes their faces froze; sometimes their feet and hands; sometimes they froze altogether—but still they came, for they had no other place to go. One day Durham advertised in the paper for two hundred men to cut ice; and all that day the homeless and the starving of the city came trudging through the snow from all over its two hundred square miles. That night forty score of them crowded into the station house of the stockyards districts—they filled the rooms, sleeping in each others laps toboggan fashion, and they piled on top of each other in corridors till the police shut the doors and left some to freeze outside. On the morrow before daybreak there were three thousand at Durham's, and the police reserves had to be sent for to quell the riot. Then

Durham's bosses picked out twenty of the biggest. The two hundred proved to be a printer's error."

Such a condition of things it is desirable to avoid at all hazards. It could not be justified by saying that we had to fill the land in order to avoid the "Yellow Peril"—that is the real "Yellow Peril"—the peril of importing immigrants under conditions which will turn them to criminals, and bring about the same degree of social degradation as would follow from the influx of colored aliens. If a "White Australia" means anything at all, if it is worth anything at all, it means a socially pure country, whose every citizen will be able to find employment at a wage sufficient to maintain him and his family in decency. America is right in extending a welcome to all nationalities, but she is wrong in allowing immigration to assume such proportions as to interfere with the well-being of the American workingman.

In view of the remarkable educational progress of Asiatic countries, we are to-day confronted with a problem which must in future assume greater importance—the problem of dealing with educated Orientals. Broadly speaking, the same objections which are raised to the Oriental coolie are applicable to certain classes of Europeans, but what of the educated Oriental, who can hold his own with the most enlightened European. What honest education test could be applied to the Asiatic who is prepared to deliver scientific lectures in several European languages; or what restriction could be placed on the Celestial winging his way through the serene empyrean to the very heart of Australia in an aeroplane of his own invention? It might be said of such immigrants that their presence in great numbers was not desirable in Australia, because Nature had created distinctions between the European and Asiatic races which made inter-marriage undesirable, and they were therefore likely to create—what no nation would desire—a racial element apart from the rest of the community. We are, therefore, confronted with a

problem which only time and evolution can solve. How are the white and colored races going to work together harmoniously on the same planet, and for the well-being of their common world? For we are all of one origin, of one flesh and blood, and the most intellectual races have been evolved from the most embryonic forms of life. The importance of the colored races in this world's future is by no means to be underrated, and permanent peace can only be secured by the co-operation of all sections of humanity.

The presence of an educated Oriental element would not be so serious a matter for Australian national life. Considering the matter calmly, it would appear that Australia is destined to be a cosmopolitan community with a considerable Oriental element, especially in the northern parts. Time and environment would remove racial distinctions, and eventually the amorous Australian youth might learn to indite impassioned sonnets to his mistress' eyebrow, even were it possessed of a little Oriental slant. At all events, in dealing with the Oriental races, with their ancient, if imperfect, civilisation, we are not dealing with negroes or cannibals, and they should prove a much more tractable element than that with which the United States has to deal; and as these races are our weaker brethren it is well that Australian policy towards them should be tempered with justice and toleration, for it is a wholesome and righteous thing that nations, as well as individuals, should be honorable and just in all their dealings with those weaker than themselves.

By the strict preservation of the highest type of civilisation, and the ready absorption of all that is best in the old world, we may produce in this great continent a new people, separate and distinct from yet in closest sympathy with every other branch of the human family—a race conscious of its own powers, relying on its own energies, and sufficient unto itself in all matters appertaining to national security, purity, and progress.

THE FUTURE COMMONWEALTH.

UP to the present time the progress of the Australian Commonwealth, while not as rapid as it might have been—owing to an acute form of land monopoly—has been sufficiently creditable to warrant the conclusion that, if foreign intervention does not interrupt its progress during the next fifty years, it will become a really powerful nation, fearing no external foe. Australian civilisation is a replica on a smaller scale of that of the great European countries which represent the highest standard of civilisation in the world. Australian progress has been nurtured by the immigration of colonists of healthy European stock, attracted hither by her abundant natural resources, and her future welfare depends upon a continuance of that class of immigration. All the comforts and conveniences of civilised life have been introduced, even to the remotest parts of Australia, and the leading two Australian cities, Sydney and Melbourne, are to all intents and purposes European cities, already surpassing in magnitude, in architectural beauty, and in all the utilities of civil and municipal government some of the minor cities of Europe and the United States. Nothing is needed but the expansion of Australian industries and population to make the Commonwealth a second America. The same social problems which confront the reformers of the old world will have to be dealt with in Australia, which shares the defects as well as the advantages of European civilisation, and the same evils which are to be remedied in Europe will have to be grappled with here. Local conditions do not alter the great problems of life, and in some respects (municipal government, for instance) Australia, in spite of her boasted democracy and socialistic tendencies

cies so frequently denounced in the daily press, is far behind some of the old world countries. But if Australia shares the social evils of the old world countries, she also has given ample proof of her determination to remedy those evils, and the universal movement which aims at the alteration of the whole conditions of existing civilisation has here taken firm root. It is, therefore, only to be expected that Australia will progress in the same direction as the great European countries, and that with her increase in population and material power she will acquire a fuller consciousness of national responsibility, and show a determination to assume a greater control over her own domestic and foreign affairs than is possible under present circumstances.

With the growth of a fuller national consciousness State differences will disappear, and the necessity of giving ampler scope to the functions of the central government will become more and more generally recognised. The means of transport within the Commonwealth will be unified and amplified, and Australian ships will take their share of oversea trade. In the development of Australian political life there is room for decentralisation as well as centralisation; increase in the number of States—most of which are far larger than the leading European countries—and increase in the powers of the central administration. The development of Australian manufactures, until Australia becomes a self-supporting country, is a logical and obvious necessity. Imperialism may devise preferential tariffs, with a view to retaining for the old land the industrial leadership of the Empire, but nothing can prevent the accomplishment of Australian industrial independence. In the natural course of events there will come a time when Australia will not be dependent on the European countries for manufactured goods, but Europe will rather depend upon Australia for the supply of certain staple manufactures, and interchange of commodities between the two

continents will be regulated solely by consideration of the mutual welfare of the people of both. The population of Australia will surely surpass that of any European country, and will gradually approximate to that of the whole European continent. There must come a time when the Australian nation will be entirely dependent on its own natural increase, and no immigrants at all will be admitted into this Commonwealth, unless under the most stringent conditions. Not until that time comes will the career of the genuine Australian race commence, and not until then will it be possible to entirely eliminate poverty and unemployment, to check over-population, which is the source of manifold social evils, to abolish the causes of degeneracy and to cultivate the highest mental and physical development of the race. In the United States to-day immigration adds to the complexity of the social problems, and there is no reason to believe that a nation of nine hundred million people will be better than one of ninety millions.

Of the great continental divisions of the globe Europe has almost reached the maximum of its development; North America is rapidly filling up, and under a wasteful capitalistic system its natural resources have been largely drawn upon; the development of Africa's vast resources will largely depend upon the native races; and the future of Asia, except the great land of Siberia, lies with the native races. With the decline of Europe, the awakening of the Oriental countries with their incalculable natural resources, and the future growth of North and South America, the centre of power must shift to the Pacific. North America is the home of a great English-speaking race, and South America is the most promising of the great regions of the globe in which the English language is not spoken. Its progress, already promising enough, warrants the prediction that it will be some day a mighty non-English State, and if that greatest of European nations, which represents the highest development of the

political power of those States in which the English language is not spoken, can, in conjunction with its sister States in Europe, transplant the arts, sciences, and industries of the grand old Continent to that vast semi-continent in which the English tongue is unknown, and the Saxon speech grates strangely on the ear of the native-born, yet which with the Latin republics of North America contains a greater area habitable by the white races than the whole of England's Empire contains, it may perpetuate that civilisation of which it is so justly proud, and erect a greater Europe without being forced to draw the sword. Australia, the smallest and most isolated of the continents, is apparently reserved for the highest development of English civilisation. It is a continent which left to its own logical development is destined, while retaining the civilisation of the great race whose peculiar mission it has been to lead the march of European colonisation, to carry that civilisation to a far higher level than has been attained in the old country. Whatever its future political status may be, it will be commensurate with the size and importance of the nation. The chief essentials of its national greatness are the intelligent development of its natural resources and the solution of those social problems which confront every civilised community, and provided it can find a solution of those problems the question of political separation from the Empire will be of minor importance indeed. Whether the Commonwealth chooses to become a nation apart or to remain a province of an Empire in a confederation of world States, whose relations will be guided by harmonious feeling and good sense, will matter very little. There might indeed come a time when the disloyal and revolutionary isle of Britain (located by Australian geographers as somewhere in the Antipodes) would issue a declaration of independence, and in words which would blast the very atmosphere with the intensity of their seditious fervor call upon heaven and earth to witness that the Isle of Britain did not

exist as a satellite of the Australian Commonwealth, and that the city of London was not to be regarded as a mere dumpheap for Australian manufactures. It is a fine thing for a nation to be able to stand up before the world and call itself a sovereign State, but there is something greater and nobler than that, and that is the true social ideal which aims at independence for the worker, happiness in the home, wisdom in the nation, and justice to all men.

For my own part, I believe that the first and last object of Australian statesmanship ought to be a contented people and a self-contained Commonwealth, and concerning the future I profess a profound and philosophic agnosticism, for, after all, there are greater things than Commonwealths and Continents in this wee universe. We read that in the realms of space there are stars far larger than the sun, and so far distant from our own earth that it takes rays of light, travelling at a rate of one hundred and eighty-five thousand miles a second—a speed at which they would traverse the earth's circuit seven or eight times between two successive ticks of a clock—eighteen thousand years to traverse the intervening space and reach this earth; and among the countless spheres which fill that space who will say that there may not be beings as much intellectually superior to ourselves as we are to the lower animals—

This truth within thy mind rehearse,
That in a boundless universe
Is boundless better, boundless worse.
Think you this mould of hopes and fears
Could find no statelier than his peers
In yonder hundred million spheres?

What is this earth after all but a ball of mud coursing round a lump of luminosity, in a wilderness of infinity interspersed with starry systems, and it seems almost “*infra dig.*” as the lawyers say, beneath our dignity, as atoms of the universal and all-pervading

intelligence to raise controversy as to its possible partition. As our own lives must end so, " All worldly shapes shall melt in gloom, the sun himself must die;" Commonwealths, States, and Empires must vanish.

" And like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
And like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
As dreams are made of, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep."

Truly this world is as a vessel of glass—

" The stone wall doth fall aside,
Down must the stately columns fall,
Glass is this earth's luck and pride.
In atoms shall fall this earthly ball
One day like the Luck of Edenhall."

Yet each of us remembering that " No endeavor is in vain, its reward is in the doing," may in his little day achieve something which is worth achieving, and learn to look upon impending calamities of a local or universal nature with the same imperturbable equanimity with which the grand old Grecian Epictetus taught his disciples to view events over whose course they had no control, so that should this solar system as it rushes with terrific speed towards the " reign of Chaos and Old Night " collide with some extinct star—the cold and forgotten carcase of some dead world—and in one awful instant flare up into fiery vapor, so that some fine day we will all be going nowhere and find ourselves in attenuated ether before we get there, mortal man as he sees in the sky the portent of his impending doom may, without one thought of his luggage in the guard's van or the brass band waiting at the next platform, prepare to ascend the flue of heaven in thin smoke—

“ O thou who choosest for thy share
The world, and what the world calls fair,
Take all that it can give or lend
But know that death is at the end.”

Truly, we all should live, as Bill Nye says, so that we may be able to look a cider-barrel square in the bung; and thereby hangs a tale. A few years ago there lived in the land of Russia an execrable tyrant named Von Plehve, who held the position of Minister of the Interior. He was a terrible man—one of those fiendish monsters whose abominable deeds have blackened the pages of Russian history. Well, one day a deputation of Socialists waited upon the Minister of the Interior, and the fragments of the noble Von fell between the Nevski Prospekt and Simbirsk. Shortly afterwards a meeting of Socialists was held in Petersburg, and before the assembly there arose an impassioned orator, who, amid tumultuous applause, announced the tidings in these words: “ Comrades, men, and Russians, once more has the cause of justice triumphed and the eagle of freedom soared through the gloomy firmament of this Hyperborean realm. VON PLEHVE IS DEAD, AND HIS SOUL IS BURIED IN HELL.” Now, pondering the matter as citizens of an intellectual community, do you not think that it was a deplorable and unwarranted oversight on Von Plehve’s part that he allowed himself to be born? Well, it is not given to every citizen to shine conspicuously in a community, and in some communities at least it would seem that even celebrity has its disadvantages. But it is a noble idea to look beyond the span of our own miserable existence and try to make the world a better one; and what a blessed consolation it must have been to Von Plehve in his last moments to know that the world would be happier when he was dead. So when you have tried in your own small way to make the world better, and nobler, and brighter—not by leaving it, but by living and acting in it—and when it comes to the end,

and you, knowing that you have done your best, come to blow your whistle at the last semaphore and hand down the staff at life's terminus, you may leave the footplates with a cheerful smile, for—

“ It is a modest creed, and yet
Pleasant if one considers it,
To own that death itself must be,
Like all the rest, a mockery.
For love, and beauty, and delight,
There is no death nor change; their might
Exceeds our organs, which endure
No light, being themselves obscure.”

THE ENGLISIIMAN'S HOME.

A LETTER written by the author, and published in a local newspaper, on the occasion of the presentation in Maryborough of the play "An Englishman's Home," which, for some reason or other, "roused the Empire":—

Sir,—As a spectator at the recent performance of "An Englishman's Home" I listened with mixed feelings to this latest production of British talent inspired by nervous apprehension of the growth of foreign countries, and the impressions of a not too sympathetic non-Britisher may, if not altogether entertaining, prove interesting to your readers. The play is based on what is (to my mind) a wholesome and righteous state of affairs, in what the Germans term "Weltpolitik!" Until recently the safety of the Englishman's home was of minor importance to the Englishman himself. The Englishman was too busy in breaking up someone else's home, and carrying his conquering standard round the globe, to care much about his own humble domicile; nor was the injustice and misery inflicted on other peoples by an aggressive and capitalistic British Imperialism of much concern to him. So long as he could sleep safe behind the bulwarks of the deep, buttressed by his mighty floating fortress, so long as he could shout "Britannia rules the waves" and view the puny naval efforts of much handicapped rivals with indifference, so long did he care not a good old English swear-word about the feelings and polities of other countries. Little did he think—this noble Englishman—of the ruin brought upon the Transvaal, of the homes burned and the property destroyed, and the white men left to starve, while his imported Chinamen flooded the Transvaal

mines as the result of his iniquitous warfare; little did he think of the factious state of European politics essential to the maintenance of his predominant position; and little did he think but yesterday of the thousands of homes of the brave and simple Russian peasantry made desolate by a war for which English diplomacy was as much responsible as the Czar's autocracy.

But now all this is changed, for there looms across the cold stormy North Sea, from whose shores descended the Vikings of old, the shadow of a mighty mail-clad squadron, in the hands of a brave, educated, and energetic people, and a warning voice reaches him, intimating "in accents of an unknown tongue," that he may no longer fashion the world's affairs to his own liking. So a wavering note runs through the militant refrain of "Rule Britannia" (just a thought that at some critical moment Britannia may not rule), and even the soul-stirring slogan "God Bless King William" loses its sweet resonance on the tongue of the Sassenach and the Boyne water becomes less palatable than Burke's ancient usquebaugh when he thinks of that mightier King William strolling down to the Kaiserliche Werft at Wilhelmshaven, and christening his first 18,000-ton battleship "Nassau" in honor of King William of Orange, Prince of Hesse-Nassau. So the bones of Horatio Nelson may rattle in the grave, the spook of victorious Duncan may get its feet wet on the shores of the Zuyder Zee, and the shade of buccaneering Drake may frizzle with a million Spanish adversaries "in saecula saeculorum," but the steam-hammers ring ponderously in the Vulkan, Germania, and Aktiengesellschaft Weser, and the blue-eyed Von Koester smiles a sweet Teutonic smile as he surveys the mighty array of ironclads of what is technically known as the "Hochseeflotte." It is all very well to say that the play does not refer to any particular enemy, but the rude awakening of the British nation which promoted the success of this

over-boomed burlesque was not due to apprehension of the mighty hosts of San Marino or the insolent brine-sweeping squadrons of Bolivia, and if the maritime growth of Germany had not brought an invasion of England within the range of possibility the play would be quite meaningless.

No, the real trouble is that a neighboring nation, a people who speak no English and owe no more to English civilisation than English civilisation owes to them, whose King is not England's King, and whose ways are not England's ways, have learned more than the chosen race could teach them, and have amply demonstrated that the arts of seamanship and navigation and the science of commerce are by no means exclusively British properties. Incidentally the European political situation has become more settled, as the mind of the Englishman has become unsettled, and the numerous factious States, ready to be bought by English gold to fight England's battles, have been merged into substantial and self-interested empires or kingdoms, like Austria, Russia, and Italy. So the Englishman is troubled (poor man) that he can no longer find willing allies nor direct his overwhelming and aggressive might against poor and distant States only, and he is appalled (alas, poor man) at the thought of the dire catastrophe and world-transcending cataclysm that would ensue if in the perilous state of world-politics he should be compelled to hit someone his own size, or if, in some moment of supreme recklessness, someone his own size should be impelled to hit him.

Now, I do not think that any man desires to see trouble between two nations which stand at the head of European civilisation, but while England has her responsibilities the German nation has no less a responsibility, not merely to the German people, but to all those weaker races which have no desire to be absorbed in or enjoy independence merely on the sufferance of the British Empire. Modern Germany

stands not merely as the champion of the German race, but as the standard-bearer of "the men who are not English"—the people whose civilisation has grown up outside of the British Empire, and who have no desire to see their respective countries playing the part of satellites in a British world-system. It is obviously her mission to maintain the balance against the overweening Anglo-Saxon, and if Germany cannot do this what nation can? The United States (Anglo-Saxon in tradition, though cosmopolitan and non-English in character) will not, France of the glorious past and the Malthusian birth-rate cannot, nor can semi-barbarous Russia. No, it is obviously the mission of the most powerful State of Continental Europe.

He would be a very prejudiced Anglophobe indeed who would deny the great work of the English race or the world-wide moral influence of the better side of English character; and he would be a man of rare homicidal tendencies who would deliberately advocate war between two great nations; but that English policy should dominate Europe, and dominate the world, that the "arbiter dictum" of a capitalistic conclave in Downing Street should decide the fate of nations, and that John Brown, of Essex, in his little gunyah by the Thames billabong, should be the man of all men whose word will stand against the world (and so help him God) is quite another matter.

Therefore, as one who believes that the destiny of this great continent is not bound up with the future of any particular race, and that the development of a truly great Commonwealth demands a broader view of international affairs than the present-day Australian politicians are capable of, my heart goes out to that great people who have set up an opposition business to John Bull and Company, the Grab-all and Boss-the-Earth Syndicate, those "warriors bold from the Northland cold," who, as their own Bismarck said, "Fear God, and God only," those lusty beer-eaters of the old Deutschland. Bring me, Herr Publichouse,

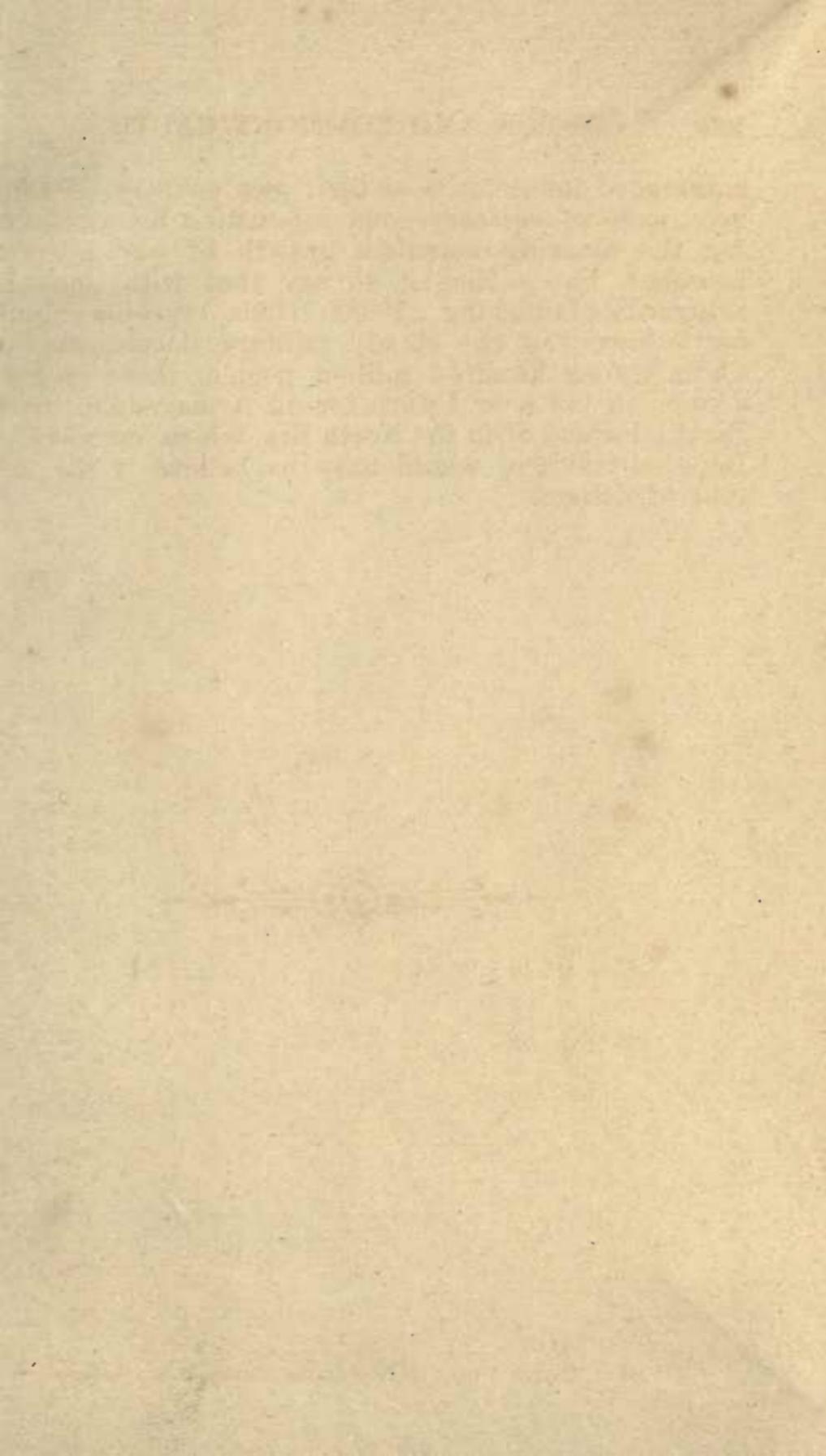
sufficient Wurzburger Holfbran to float a twenty-thousand-ton "Westfalen," and fill me mine flagon so deep as the mast high while I pledge a toast—

To the Germans I drink in German beer,
May they keep the English thinking;
But by the Homes they both hold dear
May their wars all end in drinking.

Mr. Editor, I refuse to believe that human civilisation would collapse or the earth cease to revolve on its axis if the British Empire were brought to naught. Empires as great have come and gone, and what are Germany and Britain to-day but fragments of the old Roman Empire? As an Australian, too, I have a sufficient conceit of my own country to imagine that a temporary invasion of the Isle of Britain by a civilised and Christian race would ultimately mean far less to humanity than the complete control of the great continent of Australia by the heathen hordes of Asia. I believe that the first concern of the Australian is the Australian's home, and that the enemies of Australia are not the Germans. I have good reason to believe that even if Germany did defeat Britain the Australian Commonwealth would still be preserved intact and uninvaded, so far as Germany is concerned; but there is reason to believe that a Japanese invasion of Australia would follow the overthrow of British sea power, unless Japan saw that Australia was so well armed that a considerable portion of the Japanese navy would be imperilled, thus seriously weakening Japan in face of her rivals. And if we are ever going to make anything of Australia we will have to look to our defences, for in view of the startling increase of Japan's sea power, and the fact that her shipyards are almost as well equipped as those of Germany for the construction of the largest battleships, it is probable that the most jingoistic Australian politicians will soon have to reconsider their attitude in regard to the presentation of battleships, and first

make good the defence of their own country. I could give, were it necessary, some interesting facts concerning the amazing maritime growth of our northern neighbor, but suffice it to say that with Japanese shipyards launching 19,000 tons turbine-engined battleships, and the steady military development of China's four hundred million people, there is room enough in the near future for an Armageddon in the Pacific instead of in the North Sea, which our so-called Imperial advisers would have us believe is the only spot of danger.





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